COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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" A ministry composed of men of talents and of great public influence, *collected from* ALL *the parties* " *that have hitherto existed*, taking, as the bond of their union, an inflexible determination to resist the " aggrandizement of France, and, as a proof that they themselves are pledged to a real responsibi- " lity, bringing the present ministers to a strict account for their conduct; with an administration so " formed, so cemented, and so acting, the people would venture their last shilling and their last drop " of blood. Next to such a ministry, *an* OPPOSITION *of the same stamp is desirable.* The old ground " of warfare, between the great and leading men of the country, *no longer exists.* Though not in " place, they are in Parliament, and there they *ought to unite*, for the purpose of preventing our final " destruction."—— Political Register, April 30, 1803. Vol. III. p 639.

TO THE PUBLIC.

In casting my eye upon the date of the present sheet; in reflecting, that this day closes the second year of my labours, it is impossible not to look back to the time when those labours commenced; and, if, in surveying the changes which have been produced in the intermediate space, I feel a considerable degree of self-satisfaction, I shall not, I trust, merit the charge of inordinate vanity. From publicly expressing this feeling I should, however, have refrained, had I not thought, that, under the present circumstances, it was not only excusable, but, in some measure, necessary. The motive here alluded to also dictates an explicit statement relative to the circulation of the Register, especially when I consider, that that circulation may be regarded as a criterion of the political opinions of the well-informed part of the community, and, that the statement may, in some instances, be necessary to counteract the reports of the ministers, who, while they, with a consistency peculiar to themselves, are affecting the utmost contempt for the effects of my work, lose no opportunity of expressing their anxious hope, that the numbers of its sale are fast upon the decline. The truth, however, is this; that the work began with a sale of less than *three hundred*; that, upon an average, there are now sold upwards of *four thousand*; that there has been a constant increase in the sale, from the first sheet to the present one; and, that this increase has, as far as I recollect, at no time, been greater than during the whole of these last three months. I will not, in confirmation of this statement, add either affidavits or asseverations, but will content myself with just observing, that the ministers, by only dispatching a messenger to the Stamp-Office, may, if I am incorrect, instantly obtain the materials necessary for enabling their writers to contradict me.——In estimating the effects of the Register, it should be remembered, that it is not like a common newspaper, looked over, and then thrown away; and that, in consequence of its being preserved and being so convenient for reference, each number is read, first or last, by several persons, and, generally, by the same person more than once: so that, I do not think it is being over sanguine to suppose, that, upon an average, every number is read by ten persons, making an aggregate of forty thousand readers. These readers, too, are, for the most part, persons whose opinions have weight with those who hear them; for, it is a circumstance, on which I always reflect with peculiar satisfaction, that the Register, whether it be considered as to its form, its subjects, its sentiments, or its price, evidently disdains that success which is to be derived from the approbation of the thoughtless, the ignorant, or the low; and, I do trust, that, of all the political writers, who have, at any time, appeared in this country, no one has ever shown less inclination than myself to take unfair advantages of his opponents. These opponents were, and yet are, circulating their writings through sixpenny publications; on mine I put, from the very first number, a price nearly double, rejecting, at the same time, the aid of those baits, by which the needy, the grovelling, the idle, the foolish, and the profligate are usually attracted; and, appealing to the better qualities, and better feelings, to the sense, the reason, the public-spirit, the honour, and the loyalty of the nation.——How different has been the conduct of the ministers! They have attempted to establish no less than *six* periodical papers, of one sort and another, for the express and *openly avowed* purpose of destroying the Register, all of which papers, though varying, in form, from a folio to a duodecimo, and, in price, from 10d. to 3d. have, in due succession, perished, not for want of funds it will readily be believed, but for want of readers! To obtain success to these publications, no expense, no device,

has been spared: advertisements and hand-bills, announcing a determination to "detect and expose Cobbett," have been published in numbers far exceeding those of the several works, to which they related. These hand-bills, in the manner of publishing some of which Doctor Addington's people have followed the example of the publishers of Doctors Leake and Spilsbury, denominated me, sometimes an "incendiary;" at others, a "libeller;" at others, an "impostor;" always "the lying Cobbett," and, in one or two instances, a "fool." The publications themselves were, as the public seemed to suppose, very fairly represented by these specimens. They were, one and all, filled, literally filled, with abuse, the most shameful, most loathsome, even the most blackguard abuse of every nobleman and gentleman, who had made, or was supposed to be likely to make, any opposition to the ministry, particularly Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, against whom there were, in the publications here spoken of, more libels published, in the course of eighteen months, than there have been published, in England, in all other works put together, for many years past. What native dulness and sterility left undone, was completed by this disgusting virulence; the publications, as I have already observed, dropped off, one after another, like blighted apples in a summer's storm; and the Addingtons and Hawkesburies found, very much to their surprize no doubt, that, with uncounted thousands and hundred thousands of secret-service-money at their command, they were unable to interrupt, for one moment, the daily and hourly increasing influence of this little work; they were astonished to find, that calling a writer "*incendiary, libeller, impostor, liar*, and *fool*," did not deprive him of his readers; they were indignant at perceiving, that the public remained totally unmoved by that dignified satire which was implied in omitting *Mr.* before the name of *Cobbett*; but still the public exclaimed, as they now exclaim, "*disprove* his statements, and *refute* his arguments, or, away with your *abuse!*" WM. COBBETT.

TO THE EDITOR.

SIR,—A writer, in one of the ministerial papers, has made some observations on the speech of Mr. Windham of the 23d of November, which observations I am anxious to notice. This writer says, that, "so "vague, so loose, so general, are Mr. "W's accusations, that he knows not "what point of the minister's conduct he "means to attack," and adds that, "before the country will withdraw their support from Mr. Addington, they will require some *specific* act of misconduct, "some positive fact of incapacity."—— Would not any one from these observations believe that Mr. Windham had confined himself in his speech, to calling the minister and his friends a set of fools and blunderheads? Would they believe that he had mentioned any specific act of misconduct, any *positive fact* of incapacity? I turned to the detail of the debates in the same paper; and truly, they had thrown a veil of such cautious obscurity over Mr. Windham's speech, that a careless reader might have laid down the paper, and assented to the subsequent assertion, that "Mr. Windham's "accusations were vague, loose, and general." The reporter, however, could not conceal, that Mr. W. had given the minister "certain cautions against certain "dangers;" and he informs us, in the next paragraph, that the "right hon. gent."—did what? Allude? No: but he—"seemed to allude to some representations "which he had made at a meeting called "by the freeholders of Norfolk, respecting "the dangers that more particularly threatened that part of the country, and of "which he had subsequently given some "intimation to ministers."—Other papers spoke more plainly: though I must give the gentlemen of the London-Press the credit of a very cordial and honourable unanimity against the best friends of their country.——So then, it seems, Sir, that a charge of criminal neglect in his Majesty's ministers, for having left entirely, without protection, the eastern district of this kingdom, through which an approach lies open (through the counties of Cambridgeshire, Hertford, and Essex,) to the source of the Thames, while we are making such magnificent preparations at its mouth, is not to accuse them of any specific act of misconduct; of any positive fact of incapacity?—But what shall we say, if these accusations are general? Besides this of Mr. Windham's, we have seen that of the magistrates of Edinburgh, and your last number contains the representation of an inhabitant of Hull. By these it appears that nearly the whole of our eastern coasts are totally defenceless. I am sorry to say, that in the course of a journey I have lately made from Ireland to Bristol, I have found a great and very important part of the western coast, I mean the whole line from St. David's to Chepstow (that is the whole coast of the

Bristol Channel) equally unprotected.—— The beginning of last month, I landed at Milford Haven from Ireland; which, under a weak and inefficient administration, I had left, in a state of preparation very inadequate to the portentous nature of the warfare in which we are engaged. Of the state of preparation in England, I had formed very different ideas, from the pompous eulogies of the Premier, the loquacity of their Volunteer Supporter, and the unceasing gurrulity of the public prints: all of whom dwelt, with monotonous gratulation, on the ardent and generous spirit of the nation, and the terrific and imposing attitude of its volunteers. Guess, then, my surprise, on landing at Milford, to see not a single soldier in the place! It is true, I found a regiment of militia (the Huntingdon) at Haverfordwest: but, excepting them, nothing resembling a soldier, I am told, is there to be found in the whole principality. I can make no exception in favour of a few miserable things on foot, and equally miserable things on horseback, that I met with at * * * *; who cannot "face to "the right" or to the "left," together; and who assemble once a week, for no other purpose than to receive the shilling allowed by government, and to be dismissed.— But, as I collected some extraordinary information in my journey, I shall communicate it, in the order it arose; for, as I have some friends on the road, and many countrymen at * * * *, I did not travel with great expedition. At Haverfordwest, I found every body talking of the character of the new general * of this district, who it seems, is just arrived, some praising his activity, and some censuring his officiousness, "because he has presumed to interfere "with their internal arrangements!" The fact is, that, on his arrival, he found those "ardent and generous spirited volunteers," (whom the House of Commons have thanked for their exertions) mere men on paper! They had *never* assembled; though they pleaded their enrollment as an exemption from real and useful service! The general, consequently, in a very spirited and energetic speech †, reprehended the supineness of the Pembrokeshire gentlemen: which gave great offence to some of the high-blooded Cambrians; though a great majority of those who were not included in the censure, were very much pleased with this timely and necessary reproof. At Carmarthen a meeting had not been held, till three or four days before; even to *nominate* the members of their volunteer corps. (I passed through this place about Nov. 10) At * * * * * there was nothing but bustle and motion; every body talking, nobody acting. I staid a few days with a fellow countryman whom I met there; and who had been resident long enough to give me more information than I could have got, merely *en passant*.—— He told me that a major of artillery had been down there; and astonished as much as General Gascoigne at the Cambrian supineness, he pointed out to them some dangerous weaknesses in their coast, and has filled them with terror and consternation. I saw some miserable corps of infantry and cavalry; of which the officers were worse than the men; and the latter are literally assembled only to receive their shilling. Yes: these men receive the *pay* of their country, the *thanks* of Parliament; and an *exemption* from serving, where alone they could be useful! ——The day after I passed through Pyle, a meeting was held there of the County of Glamorgan. I met at Cardiff, a gentleman who had attended it. He told me, that at the meeting, General Gascoigne had given *them* a censure in the form of a compliment. He said, "they were not "*quite so bad* as the County of Pembroke." Such, Sir, is the state of the whole of the southern coast of the Principality of Wales. To this I have to make one honourable exception. I quitted the direct line of my route, to see the new Bridge on the Taff, and the magnificent Iron Works at Merthyr, with some other objects of curiosity in that beautiful country; in one of these excursions a friend took me to see a corps of volunteers commanded by a gentleman of the name of Lascelles; and solely formed by his exertions. This corps was in as high a state of discipline and activity, as zeal and science in the commanding officer could make it. And though I have no very high opinion of the efficiency of volunteer corps in general, of the principles on which they are formed, or of the motives by which they are actuated; yet to an army composed of such men as those I am speaking of, I could

* General Gascoigne; who came hither the first moment of his appointment. Can it be credited, that, till the first week in November no general officer has visited this coast, which is so much exposed?

† I found this Speech printed and circulated a good deal in the principality. As it has an useful tendency, why has it got no further? The London Journalists are aware, I suppose, that the ministry are answerable for the inactivity of Pembrokeshire. It is their duty to take care that every part of the country is defended.

confidently commit the fate of my country. ——Such, Sir, is the history of the state of preparation, in which I found South Wales. In making this communication I have no private feeling to gratify. If it be dishonourable, disgraceful, and criminal in the ministry, that this representation be true: that it is made public, they have only to thank themselves, and their officious, but not unpatronized, defenders.—When the honourable and elevated characters that form the present opposition are traduced, and accused of dishonest artifice, and of impure and disloyal motives, it is an act of justice to defend them: but when the imbecility which they censure and expose, exists to an extent infinitely beyond their assertions, and threatens to involve in one universal ruin "the accusers and accused," indignation can repress itself no longer; but every honest man and every patriotic subject is now compelled to come forward, and to tell those truths which, though it is terrible to know, it were fatal to conceal; and to sound through every corner of the kingdom, that the cause of Mr. Windham, "*is "the cause of our Country!*"—I am, Sir, yours,

HIBERNICUS.

Bristol, Dec. 1, 1803.

TO SIR DIGBY MACKWORTH, BART.

SIR,—The statement you some time since promised to insert in reply to mine, has, I perceive, appeared in the Register of Saturday last; and although I feel the utmost repugnance to engage myself unnecessarily in any controversy, I find myself imperiously called upon by the contents of your letter to vindicate my intentions, and substantiate the assertions I formerly made with respect to the corps you command. Had you, Sir, contented yourself with simply stating the facts as they occurred, and then made the best apology in your power for the conduct of the persons censured, the respect I entertained for yourself, as well as for many of those who are under your command, might possibly have induced me to suffer the affair to sink into oblivion. But the intemperate language in which you have indulged, and the unmerited abuse you have been pleased to heap on me, have forced from me a reply; since my silence, under such circumstances, would probably have been construed into a sense of guilt.——I am accused, in the first paragraph of your letter, of having grossly insulted and abused, and that too with a malevolent spirit, a deserving body of men. Upon what grounds this accusation is brought forward, I am left to guess; since you have not favoured the public with the reasons which have induced you to draw an inference so unfavourable to my character. If, indeed, to point out the errors, and censure the misconduct of those under your command, be to insult and abuse them; if to exhibit in its true colours the spirit which then influenced them to be *justly* styled *malevolence*, I must own myself most guilty. But it is an error, from which, I fear, I shall not be very readily reclaimed, whilst I have before my eyes the example of some of the most upright and independent of men, who are not deterred by the dread of such an accusation, from faithfully discharging their duty in this respect.——You fully admit the truth of what I have advanced respecting the cry of *velvet*, which took place when your order for removing it was read. But it seems I have exaggerated their irregular behaviour. That it needed no exaggeration, will, I believe, be readily allowed by all who were present at the scene. I appeal to the adjutant, who *was present*, whether the clamour upon this occasion was not sufficiently vehement to justify the expression I made use of. The cry of *velvet*, I must repeat it, *was vociferated*. ——You have also allowed, that the offender to whom I alluded, was threatened with being degraded from the light infantry to one of the battalion companies; but with respect to the subsequent conduct of the company to which this person belonged, you state your *belief* that my account of it is utterly false! To this I can only, at present, reply, that I positively *know* it to be true. I could mention the *names* of some persons by whom this declaration *was made*; but, unless compelled by a repetition of the charge, I shall forbear introducing them to the public: neither will I attempt to characterise the spirit by which you have been guided, in stating your belief of the utter falsehood of my accusation, without, at the same time, declaring the reasons you had for entertaining this opinion. Yet this, it seems, is the heaviest charge you can bring against me; though it is so obviously weak and inconsistent, as almost to refute itself. ——But I had nearly overlooked that part of your letter, in which I am accused of being a negligent, anonymous writer. To the first of these charges, I must, indeed, plead guilty; for, unfortunately, not being perfectly acquainted with the mysteries of an art, in which I had never any instruction, I was unable to state, in *technical terms*, the mode of frabrication of leather stocks, and the ingenious manner in which the volunteers improved upon the original invention.

As you have, however, amply explained the whole process, I trust my inaccuracy in this particular will be pardoned, and I will only further remark on this head, that as I never supposed myself incapable of erring, I shall esteem myself happy, should I never afford you an opportunity of substantiating a more weighty charge. But it is now alledged that I am an *anonymous* writer. Now, Sir, assuming for a moment, (what you have yourself partly acknowledged) that my statement was correct, I will appeal to yourself, whether you can with candour say, it would have been either prudent, or with respect to myself, just, to have openly exposed myself to the enmity and violence of those, whose improper conduct I had thought it my duty to censure? You cannot be ignorant, Sir, of the treatment experienced by the person, whose regard to discipline induced him to point out the ring-leader in the recent disturbance. What then might not I have expected, who had exposed that conduct to the public eye?——I cannot conclude without adverting briefly to the letter signed by 33 of the light company, on which you have been pleased to bestow such warm encomiums. And I would ask, can any one, who has attentively perused this letter, doubt for a moment, the consequences that would have attended the refusal to comply with the request it contained? Does it not afford the strongest presumptive evidence of the truth of my assertion, that they were determined to resign if the punishment was inflicted? When I consider, Sir, the *accumulated* guilt of the offender, (for you allow, that after your solemn remonstrance he still persisted in his disobedience) as well as the absolute necessity which existed of making some public example to deter others from the commission of similar disorders, I must be allowed to say, that if, instead of complying with their request, and thus establishing a most mischievous precedent for the encouragement of future applications; if, instead of *returning them your thanks*, you had peremptorily rejected their petition; you would have acted in a manner more creditable to yourself, and infinitely more beneficial to the true interests of the corps. For, what good effects have resulted from this ill-timed lenity? In a very few days after you had thus suffered yourself to be dictated to, you cannot forget, that two men, who were ordered to join the pioneers, *refused* to march! Allow me, Sir, also to remind you, that the turbulent spirit, which I so strongly reprobate, did not, for the *first time*, display itself in the recent occasion. I do not forget the behaviour of some members of the corps on the 15th of last August, which I have not, at present, time to notice as it deserves. I may possibly be induced, on some future occasion, to review the transactions of that day with more attention. ——I am yours, &c. PHILO-PATRIÆ.

Oxford, Dec. 19, 1803.

PARTIES.

The following Article, extracted from the Morning Chronicle of the 28th instant, will be found well worthy of perusal.

The ministerial papers are labouring day after day, and night after night, to raise the public indignation against certain supposed coalitions, and the political leaders who are said to have coalesced. From so much alarm at the Treasury on the bare mention of a coalition, we should be disposed to presume, that it must have the public advantage in view, and to hail it with exultation. But unfortunately we see nothing to convince us of its reality, but the fears of that weak, and therefore, at this present moment, wicked ministry, to whom it would be a death knell.——From curiosity, therefore, rather than from a desire to defend any coalition which should include the great political talents, and the high political reputations of the country, we feel some wish to know, who are they that rail against coalitions, and when that is known, it will not be difficult to ascertain why they rail.——Let it be supposed, for an instant, that Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, were to coalesce, would that coalition be morally and politically more profligate than a coalition of Mr. Addington, Mr. Hobhouse, Lord Hawkesbury, and Mr. Tierney, not to speak of Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Erskine? Surely the friends of those who have coalesced will not say that it is criminal only in men of great abilities and consideration to coalesce, but that for men of inferior talent and little consideration it is laudable? To us it appears that a coalition between great leaders (and experience shows it in this country) must more certainly be founded on public motives, than a coalition between the underlings. The object of the latter is almost always *place and emolument*, and whatever they get is generally a great deal more than they deserve. When the great men unite they not only give up animosities, but they sacrifice objects of personal ambition to the public good. They must lay their account with *less power and less place, perhaps, than if they had come in at the head of their respective parties.* The presumption is in fa-

vour of the virtue of a great coalition. Such a coalition is the union of great men *for the public cau e*; the other is a set of *paltry jobbers laying their heads together in a corner to get a provision for themselves and families*; the one may be necessary for the safety of the state; the other is always most important to the individuals concerned. The object of the one is vigorous and able government —the object of the other is the attainment of particular ends, the protection of a favourite, the prolongation of a low piddling system of administration.——It must be confessed that underlings have a wonderful advantage in making coalitions. When milk and water are mixed the compound is milk and water, and it is not worth inquiring where each ingredient was found. There are fifty people about him whom Mr. Addington might put into the Cabinet, or into offices of trust and power, and it might puzzle many worthy persons to discover either their merits or defects, even perhaps with the aid of Mr. Phillips's living Repository of Public Characters, from which it appears most clearly, that we can supply at least a volume of great men a year. There are some men who, if they can satisfy their coffee-house or their conventicle of their consistency, need trouble themselves no farther; for how the devil should the world trouble themselves about people who never did, and never can make half so much noise in it, as Carlo, the play-acting Dog at Drury-Lane Theatre.——It fares otherwise, indeed, with those who have the good or bad fortune to be known. If the great men coalesce, however acceptable their coalition might be, and however necessary to the public, the disappointed underlings would remember, that years before one had held one opinion, a second an opposite, that a third had uttered a sarcasm which a fourth had forgiven; and their scribblers dive to the very bottom of their learning in indexes or magazines to recover such trumpery.——Some of the gentlemen who have thought proper to attach themselves to Mr. Addington, must have ceased to remember, or think the world has, that Mr. Addington was as much attached to Mr. Pitt and his system, as such a man can be to any thing that is, with all his soul, with all his strength, and with all his might. Every one must remember that Mr. Addington's subserviency to Mr. Pitt, on first coming into office, was the theme of perpetual reproach, as it well might, to some of those gentlemen who now have taken him into protection. Are they only reconciled to him because he has betrayed his first master? Is he a more constitutional minister now, when he has not a single claim of personal merit, and not a single constitutional pretension which might not be pleaded by his own groom or butler, if any caprice were to make ministers of them? Did Mr. Addington and Mr. Tierney think alike of the French revolution, and the train of measures which, necessarily or unnecessarily, grew out of it? Mr. Addington, Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Yorke, &c. supported them all. Mr. Tierney, Mr. Hobhouse, &c. opposed them all. Let us suppose a coalition, for which there is more of apparent ground, if we may judge from speeches and acts, than for that of Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Windham, and Lord Grenville. We mean the coalition of Mr. Addington, Mr. Sheridan, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Tierney, &c. Would that coalition be criminal? Certainly not. Mr. Addington would stand high in the public opinion for consigning to oblivion those bitter sarcasms which Mr. Sheridan lavished on him the very night he made one of the most eloquent panegyrics on Mr. Pitt we ever heard. Mr. Sheridan, who was a most ardent admirer of the French revolution, who proposed at the Whig Club (what was negatived), a congratulation to the French Convention, on the overthrow of the nobility and the church; who by his enthusiastic speeches in Parliament, and his zeal out of it, in favour of that miserable French revolution, contributed so much to that ever to be lamented schism of the Whig Party, and so much envenomed the hostility of its members after, does not now disdain to support those who spoke, wrote, and would have marched to Paris against that revolution. Now nobody censures Mr. Sheridan for his coalition with the members of a cabinet, every one of whom was for so many years at such an immeasurable distance from his opinion, as to the character of the French revolution, and our policy with regard to it. It is very possible that such people may think that patriotism requires them to forget these differences. Mr. Sheridan, whom we only mention in such company to illustrate the argument, may think so too. But unfortunately the coalition of men like those we have mentioned, except Mr. Sheridan, is of no benefit to the state. It cannot give real strength to the government almost at any time, but far less such strength as is requisite now. The motives of the individuals may be honest, but why should they presume to question the motives of men whose coalition, could it by a sort of political miracle be effected, would, we are firmly

convinced, not only deliver this country from danger, but carry it to the greatest pitch of glory?——If any body were to take the trouble to examine the infinite differences of opinion which have existed upon past measures (not to speak of prospective measures) between the members and the supporters of the present ministers, it would be found that, if coalitions are culpable, those who blame others for a bare report of coalition, must themselves be very culpable too. To examine the opinions and principles of the present ministers, and some who have joined them, would indeed be difficult, because, in some instances, it would be almost impossible to find out what their opinions had been, but, as far as they are known, they are known to have been as various as may be expected in a nation of free discussion, and of conflicting parties —— Were it to be inquired how the various particles of the present ministry, and those who have coalesced or wish to coalesce with them, agree on prospective measures, it would be found that their difference in many instances is most essential. It would be found that some are pledged to support parliamentary reform, some to oppose it; some are friends to the rights of the Catholics of Ireland, while Mr. Addington confesses that he is minister by opposing them. Indeed such a whimsical administration as Mr. Addington, Lord Castlereagh, Lord Hawkesbury, Mr. Tierney, Mr. Hobhouse, &c. who differ, or have differed, so widely in religion, politics, and finance, should not encourage their friends to rail too much against coalitions. In censuring others for what they intend to do, they condemn themselves for what they have done.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE PROHIBITION OF THE ENTRY OF NEUTRAL VESSELS, FROM COUNTRIES OCCUPIED BY THE FRENCH.

Copy of a Letter from his Excellency Lord Hawkesbury, one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, to his Excellency Baron De Silverhjelm, his Swedish Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary at the Court of Great Britain, by him transmitted to Claes Grill, Esq. his Swedish Majesty's Commercial Agent General: Dated Dec. 23, 1803.

I have the honour of informing you, that in consequence of the peculiar circumstances of the moment, it has been judged expedient to issue orders, preventing all ships under Swedish or other neutral colours from entering any port or place on the coast between the Humber and the Downs, with the exception of Yarmouth Roads and the Downs, to which places they will be still permitted to resort. I have lost no time in enabling you to make an early communication of the measure which the King has thought fit to adopt, as it is his Majesty's anxious wish that the trade of neutral nations may be subject to no unnecessary impediment or inconvenience. I have the honour to be, &c.

HAWKESBURY.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Hawkesbury to the Danish Minister Count Wedel Jarlsberg, by him transmitted to Mr. Wolfe, the Danish Consul.—Downing Street, Dec. 26, 1803.

SIR,—As nothing would be more contrary to his Majesy's intention, than the imposing unnecessary restraint on the navigation of neutral vessels, I have the honour of informing you, in addition to what I notified in my letter of the 23d inst. that the limitation to Yarmouth Roads and the Downs, is applicable to no other vessels than to those which may come to our coast directly from the Ports of Holland, or of countries occupied by the Arms of France. The necessity which exists for laying down a distinction of this nature will of course render ships of every description, liable to such search or inquiries as may enable the Commanders of his Majesty's ships of war to ascertain that the regulation now established, is in no instance evaded; but this will cause no detriment whatever to the trade of neutral nations, as the whole of our coast will continue to be open to all such vessels as may be engaged in the fair purpose of trade, and which have not become objectionable on the ground above mentioned.—I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c. HAWKESBURY.

INTELLIGENCE.

FOREIGN.—According to the last accounts from France, Buonaparté continued at Paris, and the consular audiences were held as usual: it was reported, however, that he was to leave the capital in the course of a short time, on another visit to the coast; whither an additional detachment of his guards had already been sent. —— The German papers assert, that there have been other points in dispute between the Emperor, and the Elector of Bavaria, which arose from a demand made by the latter, that the members of the Equestrian Order of the Empire, domiciliated in his territories, should do homage to him as their sovereign: this they refused, and some of the Electoral troops being sent to do military execution on some of their castles, they appealed to the Emperor, who, as Chief of the Empire, inter-

fered in their behalf. It is said, that the difference will be amicably adjusted between all the parties.——The malignant fever which has been raging with so much virulence at Malaga, begins to abate; but the mortality is yet very great.——On the 20th of October, the Legislative Body of the Republic of the Seven Islands, was installed, with great pomp, at Corfu, under the auspices of the Emperor Alexander.——The Spanish and French ministers at Washington, have been engaged in a correspondence relative to the cession of Louisiana to the United States; and it is said that the former has declared it to be the intention of his Catholic Majesty, not to surrender that province; alledging, that by the articles of the cession to France, she had no right to give it up to America.——The epidemics which prevailed, during the summer months, in Philadelphia, New York, and Alexandria, have subsided; and those persons who had been compelled to fly from their habitations have returned.

Domestic.—The account given in a former sheet, (p. 893) of an insurrection of the negroes in Jamaica, appears to have been unfounded; as letters have been received from that Island, to the 9th of October inclusive, which make no mention of the circumstances there stated——The inhabitants of Bristol, at meetings held in their different parishes, have expressed their determination not to furnish the funds necessary for placing that city in a state of defence: they acknowledge the necessity of measures being immediately taken for its protection; but urge that it is the duty of government to provide them.——The report of the decision of the judges in the case of Astlett, which was inserted in the preceding sheet of the Register, upon the authority of a morning paper, Lord Alvanly has declared to be incorrect; as their lordships have not yet given their opinion on the subject.——The following is selected from the most curious of the disputes which daily occur in the volunteer corps, respecting the imposing and collecting of fines for non-attendance. A person who had entered a volunteer corps in August, and attended drill until the end of September, received a notice from his officer, in October, informing him that there would be a certain number of drills during the month, and that if he did not attend, he would be dismissed. Being unable to attend, he wrote to his captain, and tendered his resignation. This was not accepted; and after having received several notices to attend, he was subpœnaed to pay the whole amount of the several forfeits for non-attendance. The bench, at Union Hall, where the affair was tried, decided, after much consultation, that as his resignation had not been accepted, he must be considered as a member of the corps, and was therefore liable to the fines. Upon his refusing, he was told that if he did not pay within two days, the sum would be levied by a distress. The proper officers were accordingly sent, for that purpose; and the amount of fines, &c. being stated at 5l. 15s., they seized his swords, pistols, uniforms, and helmet, which being estimated only at 4l. 10s., they took two silver spoons. The person intends to bring the matter before a jury.——Elfi Bey, the Mamaluke Chief, attended by several British officers of distinction, was introduced to the King, at Windsor, on Sunday the 18th instant: since then, he has left the metropolis, and embarked on board an English frigate, on his return to Egypt.—There has been a meeting beween the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the principal bankers of London, upon the scarcity of specie, and particularly of small coin, throughout the kingdom.——Several persons who had dividends to receive, as agents for others, doubtful how they ought to act relative to the payment of the property tax on those dividends, applied to the commissioners, for information, but were referred to Mr. Lowndes, who told them that they were bound to pay at the rate of 5 *per cent.* on every such dividend, under a penalty of twenty pounds for each warrant of attorney. Not satisfied with this, they applied to Mr. Addington, who, upon their representation of the risks to which they would be subjected by pursuing that mode, agreed to introduce a clause of indemnity in a bill which he would bring forward after the recess.——One of the late London Gazettes contains a proclamation, offering a reward of one hundred pounds, and his Majesty's pardon, for the discovery of the author of a treasonable and inflammatory paper which was addressed to the volunteers of Durham, and posted up in that city on the 2d instant, recommending them to lay down their arms, and make no opposition to the French.——The Gazette of the 24th instant, contains an Order in Council, dated on the 21st, prohibiting the exportation, and allowing the importation of provisions, from and into this country till the 25th of March, 1804:—also, an Order for constituting la Valette, in the Island of Malta, a free port, upon the same footing and condition as Gibraltar; and to be so considered until six months after the signing of a definitive treaty of peace.——A letter from Lord Hawke-

bury to the Swedish Envoy, has been posted up at Lloyd's, stating, that orders had been issued, for preventing all ships under Swedish or other neutral colours, from entering any port or place on the coast, between the Humber and the Downs, with the exception of Yarmouth Roads and the Downs. ——Another letter, explanatory of the former, has since been written, stating, that the prohibition extends only to such vessels as come directly from the ports of Holland, or of countries occupied by the arms of France. ——The King has been pleased to appoint John Philip Morier, Esq. to be Consul General in Albania, the Morea, and adjacent territories of the Ottoman Empire.

MILITARY.—Letters which have lately been received from Bombay, state, that the Scindeah and Berar Rajah have joined Holkar against the Peishwa, who is supported by thirty thousand troops in British pay, under the command of Major General Wellesley.—— The progress of the war carried on by Great-Britain against the King of Candy has been greatly interrupted by the appearance of a malignant disease in the Island of Ceylon, which has carried off a great number of British as well as native troops.——It appears that the French army, assembling in the neighbourhood of Bruges, has become greatly in want of provisions, &c.: the Prefect has issued a pressing request to the district, for the supply of those articles, assuring the people that it is the intention of government to pay the full value of every thing which may be obtained by this requisition, as soon as possible. Notwithstanding this earnest demand, the inhabitants are very loth to bring forward their articles on such security.—— French and German papers of a recent date have been received, but they afford no further interesting information relative to the military operations on the continent.

NAVAL.—The naval preparations in the ports of Batavia, Belgium and France, are carried on with the same industry as heretofore; and detachments of gun-boats, and flat bottomed boats continue to pass along from one harbour to another, under the protection of the artillery upon the shores: several however have been driven on shore and destroyed by the late storms.——Dispatches have been received from Lord Nelson, dated off Toulon, on the 19th of September; at which time the port of Toulon, and the Island of Elba were closely blockaded: a guard ship was, also, stationed in the Bay of Naples.——On the 28th of November, Capt. Winthrop, in the Ardent, attacked, and drove on shore, in Finisterre Bay, the French frigate Bayonnaise, of thirty-two guns and two hundred men; the enemy apprehensive of her being taken possession of by Captain Winthrop, blew her up, at midnight.——On the 8th instant, Lieut. Browne, in the Vixen gun-brig, captured the French cutter privateer, Le Lionnais, of two carriage guns, besides small arms, and carrying twenty-one men: she had been four days out from Dunkirk, but had made no capture.——On the 12th Mr. Gunthorpe, in the Badger, excise-cutter, captured the French cutter privateer Vigilant, of one gun, besides small arms, and carrying thirty-five men: she had been out one day from Ostend, without having taken any thing.——On the 18th Lieut. Shepheard, in the Basilisk gun-brig, captured the French gun-boat, No. 436, mounting one 18 pounder forward, and a howitzer abaft, and having on board seven sailors, besides the captain, and twenty-seven soldiers of the 30th regiment of the line: she left Dunkirk on the day before, and was bound to Boulogne.——On the 19th, Lieut. Young, in the Speculator lugger, attacked four French gun-boats, full of troops, running from Dunkirk to Calais, he succeeded in driving them all on shore, where, notwithstanding a heavy fire from the shore, two were destroyed: the others got off.——According to an account which was lately published, the Channel fleet consists of twenty sail of the line, of which three are of 110 guns each, one of 98, three of 80, and thirteen of 74, and about an equal number of frigates, which are cruising about in various directions: in the North sea there are ten sail of the line and about twenty frigates: on the Irish station, twelve sail of the line and several frigates: in the Mediterranean, thirteen sail of the line and as many frigates: on the Jamaica and Leeward Island stations, eight sail of the line and fifteen frigates: and, in the East-Indies, six sail of the line and seven frigates.——All the accounts which have been received relative to the effects of the recent gales represent the injury done to the shipping to be very great. Eight of the Channel fleet have got into port, but are so much damaged as to require considerable repairs: the rest have not yet been heard of.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

RUSSIA.—From certain articles in the Moniteur of the 10th inst. it appears that Gen. Hedouville was not to leave St. Petersburgh, and, it is certain, that, at the date here mentioned, Count Markoff was still at

Paris. It was observed, at the time when some of the London prints seemed to be building great hopes on the interference of Russia, that Russia might interfere for her own sake, but not merely for ours; and that, the Consul would never find it a very difficult matter to convince the ministers of his Imperial Majesty, that Lord Hawkesbury, the minister who had kept back the important Russian state paper, was not a person likely to propose, or adopt, any measure to which they could with safety accede.

INVASION.—For the *fiftieth* time, at least, the ministerial papers now tell us, that the invaders are *just* about to sail from the ports of France and Holland, and, at last, they may, perhaps, tell us the truth, though we cannot place any reliance on it. The alarm has, at any rate, been sounded through the country; but, as yesterday was to be the day of the landing, one may venture to question the correctness of the report, which may, after all, be a mere Tale of a Tub, invented, as Swift says, for the purpose of preventing "*formidable inquiries* from pick-"ing holes in the weak sides of government," and from drawing out their "pen, ink, and "paper into pamphlets and other offensive "weapons." To be plain, the ministers have, at last, discovered, that their power is not immortal. They begin, indeed, to suspect, that, unless they can, by some means or other, blunt the edge of political inquiry, they must make way for men of talents and character. From this persuasion it is, verily likely, that they are using all their efforts to propagate a belief, that the invasion is now, in good earnest, about to take place; and upon that belief, their intention probably is to build a popular argument for the avoiding of public, and particularly Parliamentary, discussion, upon all subjects of political nature, especially such as are *connected with Ireland*, the state of which they will endeavour to make the public believe, becomes every day more and more critical. Some persons will, indeed, argue a contrary way, and will insist, that the more critical the situation of Ireland is become under the sway of the present ministers, the more necessary is an inquiry into those ministers conduct; but, the Addingtons and Hawkesburies, who are very wise in their generation, have perceived, that, amongst the modern English, particularly some of the noisy inhabitants of the capital, that *fear to look danger in the face* is the prevailing propensity; and upon this propensity they found their hopes of success from the clamour which is about to be raised against every species of political discussion. These hopes will, however, fail them: they have cried "wolf! wolf!" too often: nothing short of actual invasion will now turn the attention of either the parliament or the people from those objects, which long ago ought to have undergone a strict examination.—"When the country is in danger, let "us not ask *who is the minister*, but *where* "*is the enemy*!" says Mr Sheridan. "*Noble* "*sentiment!*" exclaims Mr. Addington, "I "wish some other gentlemen would adopt "it!" Certainly he does. It is a sentiment, which, though exactly contrary to the sentiments and conduct heretofore expressed and observed by Mr. Sheridan, now suits both him and the minister extremely well. But, every man is not in the situation of Mr. Sheridan: all of us are not, to use a phrase of the Near Observer, "fishing for "place:" and, therefore, some of us, at least, may, when the country is in danger, be allowed to ask who it is that has brought us into that danger? and, whether the person who has brought us into it is the most likely to get us safely out of it?—But, if it were right for us to refrain from making these very natural and pertinent inquiries, there, surely, can be no good reason for us to shut up our lips as to all other matters, involving the tranquillity and safety of the kingdom? Though the prospect of invasion should prevent us from asking "who is the "minister," it cannot one would imagine, be a sufficient ground for preventing us from seeking to discover, how a rebellion came to break out in Ireland, at the very moment when the minister was assuring the parliament, that a spirit of perfect loyalty pervaded all ranks and descriptions of people in that country. The prospect of invasion cannot be sufficient to prevent us from desiring to know, why a general, who is now entrusted with the protection of the metropolis of England, including the palace of the king, was removed from his station as Commmander in Chief in Ireland. If the prospect of invasion be sufficient to deter us from making *any inquiry* at all why four millions of our fellow subjects are liable to the operation of martial law, and that, too, at the discretion of the very man under whose government the alledged necessity of that law *unexpectedly* arose; if such be the effects of the prospect of invasion, with truth may it be said of invasion as of death, that in prospect is it most terrible; for, from invasion itself, nothing so disgraceful could possibly arise. The means which these ministers are calling upon us to practice for our defence are in open hostility with the motive: they exhort us to abandon all the principles and even all the notions

of freedom, in order that we may be able to resist those, who, should they conquer our country, would make us slaves! But, it is to be hoped, that we shall not be thus scared and inveigled out of our senses; that we shall be prepared, and resolved, to meet and to defeat the foreign enemy, him who would plunder us of our liberty, while we watch and detect those, who would steal it from us by degrees.

IRISH PRIESTS.—It is very industriously circulated through the ministerial papers, that a pecuniary allowance is to be made by Parliament to the Roman Catholic Priests in Ireland. That they should long ago have had such an allowance there can be no doubt; but, that it will *now* produce any very great good effect, is much to be feared. The time is the most unpropitious that could have been chosen. The measure will be attributed to motives of fear, and not of good will; the allowance will be regarded not as a benefaction, but as a bribe; it will either produce a change in the sentiments and language of the priests, or it will not; if the latter, its object will not be answered, and if the former, is there no reason to fear, that the people will suspect their priests of betraying them? that they will raise up others? that they will give the preference to those who are not paid by government? and, that the stipendiary priests will soon experience the fate of the French *constitutional* clergy? To heal the wounds of Ireland something must be done for *the people* as well as for their priests: they must both share in the benefit of some great national measure, or peace and happiness never will again be known to their dwellings.

VOLUNTEER CORPS.——In the Morning Chronicle of the 26th instant, which is now lying before me, there is a tailor's advertisement, addressed "To the Volunteers of "Old England, particularly the gentlemen "belonging to their *committees*." Yet, Mr. Colonel Hiley Addington had never heard of such committees, and had the modesty to assert, that the committee mentioned in the House of Commons was a "solitary "instance!" The committees, are indeed, a part of the system, if a system it ought to be called; it is difficult to conceive how the corps, constituted as they are, could have been formed and kept up without committees; and, therefore, the existence of these dangerous bodies is to be attributed to the incapacity of ministers, and not to any evil intention on the part of the persons composing them. The Addingtons exclaim against the committees; brother Hiley abuses them, and declares, that he would not belong to a corps that had one; the same language is held by all the ministers and their creatures, who, unable to answer the arguments urged against their system, make, as it has been truly observed, "this pusillanimous concession "to their opponents, and reprobate the vo- "lunteers for instituting committees, which "became, in some measure necessary, "in consequence of that system," and which are not, as they wish us to consider them, an *abuse*, but the natural effect, of their institution.—— This would be the place to offer some remarks on the *exemptions* from the operation of the ballots, which exemptions are now confirmed by law; as also on the consequences which will result from *compelling* men to remain in volunteer corps; and, on the improvements lately proposed by Mr. Pitt. But, these subjects must, for the present, be laid aside, in order to make room for one, in which the very existence of the state is involved. —The public have long witnessed, and with no small degree of indignation, the shameful misrepresentation, falshood, and abuse, which the ministerial prints have circulated against Mr. Windham, relative to his opinions as to the volunteer corps; but, their leading print, the Morning Post, has, at last, commenced a species of attack, which, if not speedily put a stop to, will very probably end in the *murder* of every member of parliament, who shall dare to object to the volunteer system, or its committees. In that paper of the 27th instant, there is a letter addressed to the Right Honourable William Windham, in which letter the writer, after having exhausted his stock of falshood and abuse in order to blacken the character of Mr. Windham, and to represent him as a man *without party or friends to support or avenge him*, concludes in a set of phrases, which nine-tenths of his readers must regard as amounting to something very little short of an exhortation to murder. "You have," says he, "challenged their" [the volunteers] "patriotism, their courage, "and their honour; and as long as there "shall be in these bodies of citizens, a "manly feeling of indignation, or a gene- "rous sense of shame, as long as they claim "the rights, or aspire to the character of "Britons, the name of Windham, will be "the watch-word, that rouses them to com- "bat—that animates them to valour;—they "are not men who feel not *the wrongs he* "*has offered them*, and less than men, if "they were *not resolved to seek a generous* "*revenge*."——This assassin-like epistle, which is signed "JUNIUS, the volunteer," has catched the sentiments and almost the

very words of the bloody Macbeth to the murderers of Banquo. It is a poor subterfuge to pretend, that the word *generous* before that of *revenge*, in the last sentence, wards off the charge of instigating to murder: it is revenge for "the *wrongs he has offered* "*them*"; and where, then, are they to seek for this revenge if not *upon himself?* To pretend, that the writer means a sort of mental revenge may serve for an excuse; but, it is evident, that the far greater part of the persons, amongst whom he wishes to produce effect, will understand him as meaning, that they are most dastardly villains, if they do not *seek revenge on Mr. Windham, for the wrongs he has offered them, by the speeches which he has made in parliament.* This is the natural, the obvious meaning of his words; the meaning which he meant to convey to the minds of the volunteers, and which he qualified by the word *generous* (which, by the bye, is a very vague epithet) merely for the purpose of warding off, or softening, legal consequences.—— This writer (for I know him) is a black-hearted republican, who hails the volunteer system as the sure and certain means of accomplishing, that which he had despaired of ever seeing accomplished in this country. His principles peep out in several parts of his letter, but, particularly where he says: "with us *property* has long been the *only* "*solid basis of distinction*, and happy were "Britain could the oligarchy of wealth be "counterpoised by a *new order* of pariotism, "honour and gallantry." He first sweeps away birth and titles, and then calls for a new order to serve as a counterpoise to riches; which new order, I presume, is that of the volunteers, of whom the bloody minded Juba is one! Such are the principles, such the sentiments, such the views and desires of those, who are the most zealous amongst the supporters of the volunteer system. Persons of this description, members of the Corresponding, or other revolutionary Societies, must have doubted their sight and their hearing, when the scheme was first broached for putting arms into the hands of 400,000 men, and when it appeared that these men were not to be under martial law, but were to be governed by committees, and were, occasionally, to assemble in whole corps, for the purpose of *debating!* They must have been overpowered by the enchanting prospect. Voltaire has truly observed, that no lawful government ever perished but by an act of suicide; and, such an act the establishing of the volunteer corps will certainly prove, unless an effectual preventative be speedily adopted.—I thought, for my part, that the system would first discover its power in some attack upon the press, and, having silenced that, would next proceed to the parliament; but, really, its steps seem to be more rapid than I had supposed they would be. It has, in the instance before us, thrown out a direct menace against a member of parliament; it has distinctly specified his offence, and the punishment that awaits him. It was thus, *exactly thus*, that the clubs, committees, and corps began to govern in France. They did not, in their corporate capacity, propose to take vengeance on particular members of the National Assembly; but, some one of their body first proposed every such step through the channel of the public journals, in the same manner, and in a style very much like that, in which Juba now calls for revenge on Mr. Windham. This sly sleek-headed republican knows, that Mr. Windham is not to be intimidated by his threats; he knows that Mr. Windham would speak his opinion freely, though he was sure that a hundred bayonets were waiting for him at the door; but, he also knows, that, though Mr. Windham will be unmoved by his bloody-minded exhortations, many *other* members of parliament will not; and that their fears of vengeance will probably deter them from joining in those efforts, which are necessary so to new-model the volunteer system as to prevent it from destroying the monarchy. This he knows, and here is the chief motive of his publication. Thus, then, the system has begun to thrust its hand into the parliament. As it grows stronger, it will grow bolder, especially if a scarcity of provisions, or any other great public calamity should arise. Then we shall instantly see the committees of volunteer-corps corresponding with each other, sending, as in a late instance, delegates to general committees, to committees of counties, and, finally, perhaps, to a convention! The volunteer system, as it stands at present, is not only a "*new order*," but a new *power*, in the state; and a power, too, which the British government is armed with no laws to resist. Under the wings of this system, clubs and societies may meet for any purposes whatever, and may promulgate their opinions and resolutions with very little danger to themselves. The system, though inefficient as to most of the purposes for which it was intended, is the most efficient that can be conceived for purposes of mischief. The corps are regularly distributed, in due proportion to the population, in every quarter and corner of the kingdom; their committees will be much more vigilant and active than the pa-

rish officers, the magistrates, or other lawful agents of government can be expected to be; they will always have a sufficiency of funds at their command, and when the purse runs low, they will not have to learn how to make an effectual "appeal to the *patriotism* and *loyalty*" of the people within their jurisdiction. What else is wanted? What more fit, what more powerful instrument, could the most ambitious demagogue wish to have placed in his hands?

ARMY OF RESERVE.—This body is now called, for what reason it would be difficult to say, "the *Royal* Army of Reserve." The law gives it no such title; and yet this title is used, even in the returns laid before the House of Commons. Of this "Royal" army then, which is to consist of 50,000 men, there have been raised, or at least, paid for, 37,363, of whom 1,010 have been rejected, 181 are dead, and 2,010 have *deserted*, leaving 34,162 effective. But, as many of these effective could not have been inspected, when the return was made, three or four hundred should, perhaps, be added to the number of rejected. Passing over this circumstance, however, and allowing, that out of every 37,363 men raised there are 34,162 effective, it follows of course, that, in order to obtain the 50,000 men, there must be about 57,000 men raised, which, at the expense of 40 guineas a man, makes the sum of £2,394,000! But, as this does not pass through the Treasury, and is not, therefore, included in the accounts exhibited to the House of Commons, the Addingtons conceit that it will not be perceived, and, of course, will not be reckoned amongst the expenses of their inglorious, their disgraceful war, which they promised us should cost no more than £26,000,000 annually, but which will not cost less than £42,000,000. ——While we pursue such a system of warfare, would not Buonaparté be mad, not to let us alone? His threats of invasion are doing every thing that he can, as yet, wish to see done. They are loading us with burdens that must, at no very great distance of time, become insupportable; they tend to scare the cowardly part of the people into silence as to the conduct of ministers; and, what is of still more importance to the success of the grand project of our enemy, they favour the existence of the volunteer system in its present club-like state.——Would he not, then, be stark staring mad, were he not to leave us to ourselves?

"CAPITAL, CREDIT, AND CONFIDENCE." —These were the deities, which Lord Hawkesbury promised us would always watch over and protect this happy nation, and which would enable us, "at the breaking out of a new war, to meet France "upon a more advantageous footing than "we had ever before met her!" That his lordship was not quite correct will be readily allowed; but, there is, at this moment, going forward a transaction, which is admirably calculated to illustrate the doctrine, on which the peace of Amiens was, by some persons, defended. By referring to the Register, present volume, p. 883 to 886, it will be perceived, that, in consequence of the cession of Louisiana to the United States, France is to receive from the last mentioned country about three millions sterling; not in cash, but in stock, which is to be created immediately. If the French government should be desirous of disposing of the said stock, there is a clause permitting it so to do: and contracts of this sort are now actually going on in London, before, perhaps, the law is passed for the creation of the stock! Here, then, we come to the practical effect of the doctrine of "capital, credit, and confidence:" we make peace with France in order to "husband our "resources," and thereby to preserve that capital, credit, and confidence, which is to carry us through the next contest; France, in consequence of this treaty, acquires Louisiana and sells it to America; America gives France stock in payment for it: we, for the said stock, *give the French three millions of our money*, upon her promising that the Americans will pay us the interest of it; and, notwithstanding our 400,000 armed shop-keepers, we give a much *higher price* for this American stock, than we are willing to give for that of Mr. Addington!—Wealth, then, does not give power; but power always gives as much wealth as a nation wants.

BANK-NOTES.—Nor has the credit, capital, and confidence produced by the peace of Amiens, prevented the depreciation of bank-notes; not of Irish ones, at least. Lord King has stated, that these notes were long ago at a discount; but, now, if we are to believe the London prints, "such is the "avidity for gold coin in Dublin, that a "money and exchange-broker there, *ad-* "*vertises* to give, for any number of gui- "neas, ten *per centum above the current va-* "*lue*, in exchange for bank-paper."—These words are quoted from the Morning-Herald of the 26th instant; and, it appears, that the thing is not transacted in a corner in Dublin; there are, in that city, no people, who, like the news-writers at Portsmouth, threaten to expose and bring to "*severe* "*punishment*," those who sell bank notes at

a discount; those who, according to Mr. Addington's opinion, are "so base" as to prefer gold and silver to paper; those who are so incorrigibly stupid as not to perceive, that "guineas are an expensive and unne-"cessary incumbrance." In England there is not any general and positive discount on bank-notes: but, partially, there is; specie is, in some instances, purchased with notes at an advance of a shilling in the pound; and every one, who has any thing to do with buying and selling, must know, how severely the want of change is experienced, amongst all sorts of trades. Indeed, it has been stated in the public prints, that, so great is this scarcity in the city of London, that, in coffee-houses, the waiters refuse to serve their customers, till they have ascertained, that they can pay without demanding change. There are several causes for the disappearance of gold and silver; but, the most powerful certainly is, the want of confidence which is entertained as to the ability of the government to ride out the present storm. This want of confidence has induced great numbers of continental foreigners to withdraw their capital from our public funds, many persons in the United States of America, and in our own colonies, have done the same; not to mention those, who, though still residing here, have deposited a considerable portion of their fortunes in other countries. All the immense remittances on this amount have not, indeed been made in specie. Some, however, have; and, in one way or another, they must necessarily produce a considerable diminution of the circulating gold and silver. Till, therefore, confidence is, by some means or other, restored, it is in vain to look for the recussitation of circulating gold and silver.

NEUTRALS.—In another part of this sheet will be found two circular letters, addressed, one on the 23d and the other on the 26th instant, by Lord Hawkesbury to the Ministers of neutral nations. In the first, it is notified that *all neutral vessels* are to be prevented from entering any port or place on our coast between the Humber and the Downs, except Yarmouth Roads and the Downs; in the second, the places of exclusion and admission continue the same, but, as to the vessels, the regulation is to extend to none but such as "come directly from the ports of "Holland, or of countries occupied by the "arms of France."—Thus, at the end of seventy-two hours, a cabinet measure of no small importance is almost wholly revoked, without any reason assigned, without any change in the circumstances, under which it was resolved on, and without any apparent cause other than the fluctuation and imbecility, which characterizes the present ministers. If the measure was not necessary, why was it adopted? if it was necessary, why was it rescinded? Is it possible, that, under such rulers, this nation should not sink into utter contempt? There is no act of theirs, of any importance, which is not marked with folly and indecision: the income-tax bills; the army of reserve; the bills upon bills, laws upon laws, regulations upon regulations, orders upon orders, letters upon letters, and opinions upon opinions, about the volunteers, by whom, after all, we see suits at law instituted to decide on their privileges and duties; and, as to the income tax, they have sent round to the several persons concerned in the assessing and collecting it, a pamphlet, "part the first" entitled "an exposition" of the acts, nearly as long as the acts themselves! It is notorious that the assessing of this tax is almost totally at a stand; that, in many places the commissioners refuse to act, some of them thinking, that there is, in one of the acts, a clause which is fatal to them both. Other commissioners, assessors, &c. &c. are acting at hazard. Some persons have made their returns; others have refused to do it; and, the ministers seem, at last, to have abandoned the whole measure (which was to have been one of the principal sources for carrying on the war) totally to chance. Here again, therefore, we may truly say

"..... Whate'er their doubtful hands
"Attempt, confusion straight appears behind,
"And troubles all their work. Through many a maze
"Perplex'd, they struggle, changing ev'ry part,
"O'erturning every purpose; then, at last,
"Sit down dismay'd, and leave th'entangled scene
"For scorn to sport with....."

PARTIES.——At the close of the foregoing description one can hardly, in the bitterness of ones soul, forbear exclaiming with the honest Israelite, in a case somewhat similar, "and, shall this curse never be re-"moved from the land?" The outcry, which the ministerial writers are making about *coalitions*, really inclines me to hope, that there is some foundation for believing that it will. This cry of coalition, on which subject I beg leave to refer the reader to an article in p. 938, is assuredly as weak a device as ever the partizans of the present ministers ever had recourse to. For these six months past they have been calling, day and night, for *unanimity*. Unanimity means *an agreeing in opinion*; but, behold, the moment Mr. Fox says, "I perfectly *agree in* "*opinion* with Mr. Windham," they begin

to revile both Mr. Windham and Mr. Fox! They complain of all those who throw obstacles in the way of unanimity: well, their complaints seem, at last, to produce some effect: some persons seem disposed to form a coalition; to coalesce is to unite; uniting in opinion and voice constitutes parliamentary unanimity; and yet these bawlers for unanimity are now bawling against coalition, which is but another name for the very thing which they have so ardently [desired! But, we are told, that Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham have, for many years past, totally disagreed upon all important public questions. True; and so have Lord Hawkesbury and Mr. Tierney; but, is that any reason why they should not agree now, especially upon points as to which they never disagreed, and some of which never before came into discussion? Were Mr. Tierney, indeed, reproached with having coalesced with Mr. Addington, and with assisting in re-imposing a tax, which Mr. Tierney formerly denominated "and act of *general rapine*;" or were Lord Castlereagh, who stands pledged to the Catholics of Ireland, reproached for coalescing with Mr. Addington, who stands pledged against them, the reproach would appear reasonable enough, and for this cause, that we see men join one another in the very measures respecting which they were formerly diametrically opposed to each other; and, we may, therefore, impute to them some improper motive; but no such imputation can lie against Mr. Windham and Mr. Fox, who never in their lives disagreed upon the subject of volunteer-corps, or upon any of the questions relative to Ireland. It is no matter: they once disagreed, and, therefore, must always disagree; their agreeing is "a "scandalous juggle, a profligate coalition." But, what, then, becomes of all the arguments in favour of the unanimity, with which we are told government ought to be supported "at this awful crisis?" To be good for any thing these arguments must apply to one man as well as to another; and, if it be *profligate* for Mr. Fox and Mr. Windham to agree in word and in deed, how can the pious Mr. Addington wish them to agree in support of his power? The truth is, that unanimity, being interpreted by the Treasury, means a perfect agreement amongst all men of talents for the purpose of keeping the Addingtons and Hawkesburies in power, and a deadly hatred amongst them as to all the other offices of life! Well and truly may we opposition writers say, with Ranger, that "the assurance of these modest gentlemen "puts us impudent fellows out of countenance."——As I am accused of being an instrument in forming this much-dreaded coalition; and of departing from my principles as to the subject, I will here simply repeat, word for word, what I said upon that subject, not yesterday, nor the day before, but *seven months*, at least, *before* Mr. Fox expressed his agreement in opinion with Mr. Windham respecting the volunteer system. ——"To rouze the people from the deadly "state of indifference, into which the dis-"graces of the last eighteen months have "plunged them, is or ought to be, now the "object of those who wish to save the "country; and is this object to be effected "by a low selfish juggle, such as I have de-"scribed?" [The patching up of a ministry between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington, which was then much talked of.] "No, never! "And I further believe, that a return of the "former ministry, to the exclusion of all "other persons, would have no very great "good effect. It would, indeed, put a stop "to degrading concessions, it would revive "confidence in the commercial and monied "men, it would restore us to some little de-"gree of consequence abroad; but, *in the "hearts of the people*, 'there, where we "'must live, or have no life, the fountain "'from which our current runs, or else "'dries up;' on that most precious, that "vital part of the empire, such a change "would, I sincerely believe, be very far "from producing an effect commensurate "with the perils of our situation. To re-"store this country to her former greatness, "to save her from destruction (for she must "be great or she must be nothing,) the peo-"ple must be rouzed from their lethargy, "they must be animated, their minds must "be filled with high and honourable no-"tions, their danger must be placed fairly "before them, and they must be made to "resolve, not only on a resistance of that "danger, but on a removal of the cause of "it. Unless this can be accomplished, the "country is doomed to sink, not into po-"verty, insignificance, and contempt, but "into absolute slavery. And this, I think "cannot be accomplished without an ad-"ministration, which, in presenting some-"thing *new* as well as great, shall excite "new hopes. The present ministers can "be looked upon as nothing more, than the "dregs of the old administration; the mere "return, therefore, of that old administra-"tion, *would only tend to revive party ani-"mosities*, unaccompanied with any one "sentiment favourable to the energy of the "government or the salvation of the coun-"try. A ministry composed of men of *ta-"lents*, and of *great public influence* collect-

" ed from ALL THE PARTIES *that have* " *hitherto existed*, taking, as the bond of their " union, an inflexible determination to re- " sist the aggrandizement of France, and, as " a proof that they themselves are pledged " to a real responsibility, bringing the pre- " sent ministers to a strict account for their " conduct; with an administration so form- " ed, so cemented, and so acting, the peo- " ple would venture their last shilling and " their last drop of blood; but, by any " change which shall bear the marks of jug- " gle, of selfishness, of mere love of rule, of " rank, or of money, they will remain to- " tally unmoved. They will continue obe- " dient and silent, but it will be a cold " grudging obedience, and a sullen silence. " —Next to a ministry, such as I wish to " see, *an* OPPOSITION *of the same stamp* " *is desirable.* The old ground of warfare, " between *the great and leading men of the* " *country*, NO LONGER EXISTS. Though " not in place, they are in parliament, and " there they *ought to unite* for the purpose " of preventing our final destruction. And, " why do they not so unite? Why are they " *all* silent in their seats, though, out of " those seats, every one of them declares, " that the present measures directly lead to " inevitable ruin? Is it that they are all " seeking to gratify their own ambition; " and, not being able to agree as to the divi- " sion of the power, is each afraid to stir, " lest his movements should favour the " views of his rival? Are they actuated by " motives like this? Is this the tenure on " which Mr. Addington holds his place? Is " it thus that they are held in silence and " subjection? that they are become the " mere automata, the sport, the mockery of " a man, by whom, while they look on him " with ineffable contempt, they are twirled " about on the pivot of their own interests? " This were, indeed, a shame, a disgrace, " too great to be endured, and I trust that " the result will contradict the supposition." ——Such were my sentiments then; such they still remain; and, in these sentiments I believe I am heartily joined by nine-tenths of the well-informed men, in all ranks of life, and in every part of the empire. The ministers know, that this is the voice of the nation; they now feel, that there is no hope for them, but in the support of Mr. Pitt; him, therefore, they are endeavouring to conciliate, as far, at least, as they can do it through the channel of the press. With this view it is, that they have again brought forward the bookseller of the CURSORY REMARKS, who, in reply to what was stated in the preceding sheet, p. 917, declares that, " *as* " *far as he knows*," no such thing took place. Why this equivocation? A bookseller always knows the exact number of copies of every work he has printed; and, by looking at his books, he can tell what has become of almost every copy. Why does not this man make, then, a *positive* declaration? What is it to Mr. Pitt and his friends, whether the bookseller drove the bargain, or whether it was driven between the *author* and the Treasury?——Will this bookseller deny, that Mr. Hiley Addington, accompanied by Mr. Henry Addington's son, called at his shop almost every day, and asked, *how the pamphlet sold?* He has not denied this, and, therefore, we must suppose that he cannot. ——The use, however, which the ministers are making of this man, clearly proves their anxiety to obtain the pardon of Mr. Pitt. They begin to repent of having described him as being " *perfidious* and *unprincipled*." Their repentance comes too late. They have most shamefully abused his confidence; and they may, I hope, rest assured, that he never will trust them again.——I will just add here, that this bookseller is by no means unworthy of being a tool of the Addingtons. " Like master like man," is an old maxim; and, it may not be amiss for the public to know, that the man who published the CURSORY REMARKS, in which Mr. Pitt is represented as being " rancorous," " male- " volent," " profligate," " unprincipled," " corrupt," " perfidious," and guilty of " the blackest treachery;" it may not be amiss for the public to know, that this man owes great obligations to Mr. Pitt and the late Secretaries of the Treasury, as he also does to Mr. Canning, who is most falsely and maliciously represented in the Cursory Remarks.

☞ The IVth Number of COBBETT'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES, which is just published, contains Mr. WINDHAM'S Speech, at full length, upon the Army Estimates; and also Mr. Pitt's Speech, much more correctly than it has been given elsewhere.

*** Next week will be published one entire sheet, containing the remainder of the " Analytical and Comparative View of the " two Pamphlets, relating to the negotia- " tion between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Adding- " ton."

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AFFAIRS OF IRELAND.

LETTER V.

Dublin, Dec. 24, 1803.

SIR,—As I may not have an opportunity of addressing you again, until after the next meeting of Parliament, I take leave through your paper to make one additional observation, as to the misconduct of the *civil* branch of the administration in Ireland. I say the *civil* branch of the administration, because, I perceive, that in Parliament, an attempt has been made to throw the blame of the transactions of the 23d of July, from the civil upon the military department. To us in Ireland it matters not whether our lives are to be exposed in the civil or in the military department. The government to us is *one* instrument, and to our misfortune, it is one instrument of the Doctor. To the fault of government on and before the 23d of July, we owe the necessity (and I admit the necessity) of again submitting our devoted country to the rigour of unlimited power, and the disgrace of having that power placed in the hands of the very person, who has been the cause of our danger, and is the type of our humiliation. Before I make the charge, I shall, for the purpose of bearing down cavil, admit every fact alleged in defence of the Irish government to be true. I admit that it was fully apprized of the nature and extent of the conspiracy: and, I admit, that it was as ignorant as Mr. Yorke's assertions wishes it to be thought of the dépôt in Thomas-street. I admit that it knew an attack was to be made *in* the city, and that a battle was to be fought *in the streets* for the possession of it. I admit the modest assertion printed in the name of that most modest of clerks of ordnance and of members for the Queen's County (Mr. Pole) that the troops were furnished with sixty rounds a man. I admit the plea made by Mr. Yorke in favour of the Lord Lieutenant, that he had a wife and "a charge of children" at the Park, and that he was obliged to go to them. I admit the knowledge of government, of a great and unusual concourse of peasants having entered the city during that day: and, I admit the charge given to the Commander in Chief to maintain, on that night, the possession of the city against the rebel force; all these, for the sake of argument, I am ready to concede. And, now I hope it will be admitted to me, that the 23d of July was a summer's day of great length, and in a very sultry season. The consequence which I mean to draw from these two last admissions, is, that which every one who knows any thing of a large city must know; that until a very late hour in the evening at such a season, the streets are crowded with all the helpless part of the inhabitants; the women, and children, and men engaged in sedentary occupations; the young for amusement and exercise; the old for relaxation and fresh air. If all the above facts on both sides be admitted, then, I charge the Lord Lieutenant with having gone to the Park "to his wife and family," (vide Mr. Yorke's defence) and Mr. Marsden with having gone to dinner at the Castle, (of which, he says, and I shall now admit, he *doubled* the guards) and with having left the whole body of the helpless and unarmed, and innocent part of this great city, exposed from their *want of notice* of what was to happen, to indiscriminate slaughter, as well by the exertions of their friends in the defence, as by the ferocity of their enemies in the attack: nay, to greater danger from their friends than from their enemies: for the King's troops and the yeomanry being armed with firelocks, (and, according to the modest Mr. Pole's account being possessed of sixty rounds a man) the danger to a helpless crowd in the streets, and to a giddy gazing and alarmed people running to the windows on a sudden surprise, must have been much more imminent from a street, which is to such a crowd always a flanking fire, than from the pikes of the rebels. No rank, no age, no sex were forewarned of this danger. From the bench of bishops and the bench of judges, to the unhappy women who sell summer fruits about the streets, and to the innocent children who buy them, all were indiscriminately exposed to this hazard. It is, therefore, not owing to the care of Lord Hardwicke, that we had not exhibited in Dublin the horrid tragedy of some gallant and loyal yeoman mourning over the body of his wife or child, slaughtered by the inadvertence of his own hand. Without this, however, we have enough to mourn! But it will be said, in answer to this, as it has been said already, that government did not give notice, because they deemed it wise and humane not to excite an alarm. To resolve this defence into one single but glaring instance, the logic of it is this—government deemed it more wise and more humane, that Lord Kilwarden should receive, at nine o'clock in the evening, the pikes of twenty ruffians in his breast, rather than that at three o'clock he should have been desired to keep out of the way. Now, sir, I say, to have given this notice was the duty of the *civil* branch of the government, who now declare their full foreknowledge of, and perfect preparation for the event. But, I go

further, and I say, that if to have given this notice, it had required either invention or foresight, I should acquit both Mr. Marsden and Lord Hardwicke. They have neither invention nor foresight. But to give such a notice from the Castle of Dublin, required neither the one nor the other; because, in the Castle of Dublin, it has been ordinary official practice. In the year 1798, orders were uniformly given by the civil government through the Lord Mayor, that upon the beating of the drum to arms, or the ringing of bells, (which were purposely fixed in different quarters) the yeomanry should repair to the alarm posts of their several corps; "*that all the rest of the inhabitants, "particularly women and children, should re-"main within doors, and in the back rooms, "and in the lower floors of the houses*; lights "being left in the front windows." These orders were upon every probability of attack regularly issued, and became mere official duty. Mr. Marsden knew this, he was in the Castle of Dublin at the time. Lord Hardwicke knew it; he was in Dublin garrison part of the time. This charge of gross negligence, I make against the *civil* government of Ireland; and I add, that it cannot be answered by any unmanly attempt to calumniate the character of a brave and experienced officer, who it is admitted the Irish government desired should be removed. I add, that if the government desired he should be removed without having any misconduct to charge him with, it was a very unmanly calumny: and, if he did misconduct himself, it was the bounden duty of government to have exhibited the charge, and to have brought him to punishment*. This then, Sir, is the "wife and family" of the Lord Lieutenant to whose care the wives and families of the good people of Ireland are entrusted by the wisdom of Doctor Addington. And this Lord Lieutenant is the *hero of Thomas-street*, whose splendid gallantry, and humane attention on the night of the 23d of July, Doctor Addington has rewarded with the Order of the Garter! Indeed, it belonged only to the mysterious power of the Doctor to make the *Hero of Thomas-street* the COMPANION and EQUAL of the *Hero of Poictiers*.——Sir, in the room of the Society of Arts in the Adelphi, is placed Mr. Barry's celebrated picture (the sixth in the series) of Elysium, or the State of Final Retribution. In that splendid collection and just distribution of the glories of the human race, Edward our Black Prince, stands near Peter of Russia. Suppose, Sir, Mr. Barry were to add one more figure to that grand enumeration; to anticipate time, and to introduce the *Hero of Thomas-street* rising on the scene to receive his apotheosis. The countenance which at present our Black Prince shows, certainly would not answer. Mr. Barry must alter it. And it belongs to Mr. Barry's indignant genius to conceive, and to his hand to bring into colour and into form, *such a countenance* as the Hero of Poictiers would exhibit, on the spell of the Doctor having raised up SUCH A COMPANION, and SUCH AN EQUAL as the *Hero of Thomas-street* I, Sir, can conceive the countenance, but my hand fails me in the delineation, and therefore, I must conclude. Yours,

JUVERNA.

* While the government in England have conferred on General Fox a high and confidential command, the government prints in Ireland are every day publishing the most virulent attacks upon his character and his honour. Vide the Dublin Journal of Tuesday, the 20th of December, a paper published avowedly by the direction of government. The attack in this last paper is much stronger than that mentioned by Mr. Fox in Parliament.

TO THE EDITOR.

Dublin, Dec. 22, 1803.

SIR,—Although I am what is called a place-man here, and ought at all times to endeavour to please the higher powers, yet so extraordinary a paragraph has appeared in some of our papers, and from them has been copied into all the London ones, that my indignation compels me for once in my life, to get rid of steadily looking to the main chance. The paragraph I allude to is that which states, that Mr. Fox's assertion in the House of Commons, during a late debate respecting some expressions from the Lord Lieutenant to our late Commander in Chief, is by authority contradicted: now, Mr. Editor, it is well known here, that just previous to General Fox's return to England, he shewed to many of his friends, a very circumstantial and detailed account of the events which took place on the 23d of July, which he had himself drawn up, and where all *his assertions* are proved by the very letters which he received from Lord Hardwicke and Mr. Secretary Marsden, and by those written by himself on that memorable night. Now, Sir, I, though not intimate enough with the general to have this manuscript shewn me by himself, yet from the circumstance of being a friend's friend, I did get a sight of it, and the very paragraph in one of Lord Hardwicke's letters, on which Mr. Fox's assertion was founded, struck me so forci-

bly, that I could not resist doing what, certainly, was not strictly justifiable, I copied it, and the words were these—"I have just "learned that you have given directions "for augmenting the guard here to an officer and 30 men. I conclude from it "that you have received some further intelligence, which induces you to think it "advisable, and as an alarm is given, that "precaution will not greatly add to it." This letter was dated at the Phœnix Lodge, and received as the MS. said, at half past nine p. m. on the 23d, that is, about a quarter of an hour before the insurrection broke out. Mr. Editor, I leave you and your readers to judge of what metal, or rather composition, our present rulers are made, to contradict Mr. Fox's assertion *by authority*, and remain, your humble servant,

AN INDEPENDENT IRISH PEER.

TO THE EDITOR.

London, Dec. 31, 1803.

SIR,—I presume the laboured eulogium published in a Morning Paper of this day, upon the volunteer committees, has not escaped your notice; but, as it contains nothing but assertion without argument, declaration without eloquence, and words without meaning, you will, perhaps, attend for a few moments to one who has had some means of observing the mischief which has arisen from the power *assumed* by volunteer committees; for, that such powers as they exercise, should ever have been delegated to them by the legislature, would be to suppose the country and the parliament *indeed*, Mr. "Addington's fools;" or, what is worse, the fools of a ministry in whose government there has been and still continues to be the most lamentable combination of weakness, inability, and inefficiency, that ever disgraced the annals of this country.——I cannot, generally speaking, go the length of censure which some are disposed to do against the volunteer system. I am a volunteer myself, and trust that when the hour of trial comes, I and those under my command will not shrink from our duty, nor regret any sacrifices we may make for the preservation of our country, our king, and constitution. But, Sir, if any thing *does* cramp the energies, and confound the discipline of volunteers, when they should be most decisive and orderly, it will be their committees; if any thing produces dissension it will be their committees; "I speak that which I do know," for I have seen that differences have arisen upon the most trivial circumstances, from the meddling, busy, interested conduct of the committee.——God forbid, that any one of us who have solemnly vowed at the altar of our God, to protect our beloved Sovereign and his kingdom, should for a moment harbour a thought which could shake our allegiance; but when *seven hundred men* can meet together for the purpose of *discussion*, it is more than any man can venture to say, that mischief may not arise from such a meeting.——In the Bloomsbury corps, which, I believe to be inferior to none that has been raised, and superior to many; and which corps consists of 700 rank and file, any seven members who think proper to sign their names to a paper, desiring the *whole* corps to be called together for the purpose of discussing *any question they may propose*, will have their request complied with by the regulations which have been laid down. Now, Sir, I would ask what good can come of this? Is it to be supposed, that the military affairs of the corps can be well adjusted by 700 men, who know nothing of military customs, but what they have learnt at the Foundling Hospital Parade.——I would not be thought to insinuate aught against the loyalty or the zeal of this truly respectable body of men; but it is *impossible* to say, that in a flock of 700, there may not be seven black sheep; suppose these seven were all members of the committee, I would ask, what is to prevent them from agitating, as often as they please, any dangerous and mischievous question? Besides, Sir, the officers are elected by the corps at large, but first nominated by the committee; and there is as much canvassing for a vote for an ensigncy, when a vacancy occurs, as there is at an hospital when the matron or the apothecary dies or retires; the consequence of this is, that the officers have no authority, which is very natural to happen; for, to carry on my comparison, I would ask, whether, if the apothecary extraordinary to an hospital was an harsh inhuman operator, he would have any chance of succeeding to the situation of apothecary in ordinary, if his superior were to die or resign?——I think I have stated enough of one corps, out of the many which exist, to show the mischievous tendency of volunteer committees; and, if you think this worth your attention, I will furnish you with more materials upon the same subject.——I remain, Sir, your obedient, humble servant. *

MILES.

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* If, then, committees are dangerous in a corps like this, composed chiefly of gentlemen, how dangerous must they be in corps of an opposite description, where sentiment cannot, as in the present instance, be expected to supply the place of discipline.—EDITOR.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS!!!

SIR,—I am surprised that a man possessed of talents like yours, should apply them to so little purpose, when the result of them, if well applied, might be rendered so advantageous and productive. It is in vain that you utter your weekly Philippics against that body of illustrious statesmen who hold the helm of the state in commission. You never will change their opinion of their own merits, and there can exist but one in the breast of an Englishman respecting them. You may threaten impeachment week after week, but this I must say in support of them, that they are never open to conviction. But to the point, Sir: if you chuse to veer to the right about, as our volunteers of various descriptions term it, and support the measures of our upright, steady, and systematic administration, I will ensure you great things; perhaps a seat in a certain House, and a lodging in the Treasury. You think me too speculative, perhaps; but no, Sir, I have not been upon the *pavé* so long without availing myself of that knowledge which experience brings with it, and I have precedent for all my speculations. Most of our late ministers, Sir, were no patrons of literary merit. They supposed that if they conducted the affairs of the state with the conscientious feeling of rectitude, the support of the press was of little importance. Now this, Sir, is a very dangerous doctrine for us poor authors, (for you must know that is my profession) and subversive of the hereditary rights of the press. The present then (thank Heaven) are of a different opinion, and their liberality to the profession is deservedly proverbial. Not content with a mere paltry conditional remuneration for the exercise of our literary power in their favour, they do not hesitate to afford us the best situations in church and state. It is but a few days since, that the editor of a journal (waving for some time in politics) *luckily* being in orders, though I understand he has more than once thrown the gown aside, was accommodated with a *deanery!!*—— Now, Sir, considering the degree of talent displayed in the publication alluded to, I really think *we* (for I must include myself in the speculation as the reward for first suggesting it) may do wonders. I beg you will not talk to me of consistency or principle. You may starve upon these, and when we have such high examples upon the floor of the house, why hesitate to follow them. Who knows but that you may be a Treasurer of the Navy, or myself Archbishop of Canterbury. Vale. Be advised and prosper.——In great anxiety for your determination, I remain, Sir, yours,

PETER QUILL,
Curate of Bray!

PARTIES.

Extracted from the Morning Chronicle of the 30th December, 1803.—(*See the preceding part, p. 938.*)

We have shewn with how little grace the present administration of shreds and patches can accuse their superiors in talents and character for a coalition, were any coalition to be formed. It may be worth while to inquire what right they have to call upon the public for unanimity, and to stigmatise, as a faction, all those who freely expose their incapacity.——If the present moment, as seems admitted by all, is peculiarly critical, it follows, that a wise and vigorous administration, one which combining all the confidence, can call forth the whole energies of the country, is peculiarly necessary. It is infinitely desirable, therefore, that unanimity in supporting government in the conduct of the war and in the system of our defence, should be obtained. But can that be expected if men do not approve the system, or rely on the abilities of the present ministers? Unanimity in a free and enlightened country, ought only to arise from a conviction, that in the actual circumstances, the best measures are adopted for the public advantage. Without this, unanimity is impossible, because men cannot command the assent of their own minds to what they do not approve. They may acquiesce indeed; and if every thing which ministers think fit to propose must be received and sanctioned without examination, to what purpose have we a Parliament, the great Council of the Nation? But in a great and intelligent nation, possessing what is not the least resource in difficult times, a greater number of able and experienced statesmen than perhaps any other nation in the world, how is it possible that Mr. Addington, Lord Hobart, Mr. Bragge, and Lord Hawkesbury, should obtain that entire confidence which is the just foundation of unanimity? We may be conjured by every motive to confide in such ministers, at the greatest crisis this country ever saw, but it is impossible. There is no foundation on which the mind of man can rest confidence. What authority, what reputation, what felicity can they boast to draw forth confidence? Mr. Addington, and Mr. Bragge, and their colleagues, have not evinced that capacity, that energy, and

resource, to which men look when they devolve the care of their safety upon others. No Englishman of common reflection can be easy to think, that the safety of the state is in the hands of men, who, in every difficult case of war or negotiation, or domestic administration, have always shown themselves inferior to the occasion. The whole history of our relations and discussions with France during the last peace, betrays such a scene of rashness, inconsistency, and timidity, that must convince every impartial mind that peace could not be preserved with honour, with Mr. Addington and his colleagues at the head of affairs; yet, though the war be justifiable, it is not justifiable on the grounds which ministers have taken in their discussions with the French government. Indeed, the publication of that negotiation has lowered the reputation of our English statesmen very much on the Continent of Europe. If we look at measures of war, what shall we say of a war of nine months, without any single enterprize of difficulty or danger successfully achieved? Measures of defence continually changing, and after all, the regular disposable army of the country still unequal to any considerable offensive operation. If we look for proofs of their activity and vigilance, where shall we find them? Can we resign ourselves into the custody of men, who were surprised at noon-day by open insurrection in the streets of Dublin? Is this a foundation for confidence, to a people surrounded on every side by bold and daring enemies? Can wise men, if they would, put such a violence on their understandings as to confide in ministers, who not only have given no evidence of superior capacity, but on the contrary, have given the most decisive proofs of signal incapacity? Is it possible that wise men should be unanimous in sacrificing their reason on the altar of folly? And, if such a sacrifice could be made, would it enable a weak and precarious administration to carry through those extraordinary measures which the circumstances of the times require?——It certainly is no easy matter, in a free country, where parties necessarily and happily exist, (for parties are the only organs of free discussion and a public spirit), to form any administration which shall unite the confidence of all. Some prefer the principles and admire the talents of one leader, some of another; constancy in such attachments is called consistency. Having once chosen their party, men of generous, honest natures, have taught their confidence to go in a certain channel, and to follow certain leaders. In the constitution of society, this tendency of mankind is of the utmost advantage. A free constitution could not exist, without subordinate associations and unions to secure the object of the general society. The influence of the Crown is of itself too much for the mass of individuals who have no union, no concert, no means of taking common measures to resist what is wrong. The association of the court is always active, vigilant, and united, and their views do not always tend to public liberty and to wise administration. Constitutional parties are the embodied defenders of public freedom. They oppose the corruption of the court, they mitigate the violence of the people; they nourish able and active men, and by their very conflicts give stability to the constitution. No free, no great, active, and energetic government, ever existed without such parties, and their decay is a certain symptom of degraded sentiment and approaching despotism.——But it is in the nature of such parties to sacrifice personal objects, and the more exclusive interests of the party to the general good of the state. Not to speak of the standing parties of the ancient republics, it is undeniable that all the parties of this country, whether parties of interest or of principle, as Mr. Hume divides them, whether court or country, have acted together upon any extraordinary emergency.——Some have adduced the restoration, the revolution, and such great events, as proofs of the tendency, the beneficial tendency of parties in this country to unite. But it is not necessary to insist on such extraordinary instances. It is denied, however, that coalitions ever have produced an able, efficient, and lasting ministry. This is an assertion wholly false. Who can forget the extraordinary coalition which took place in the year 1757, and the glorious war which that ministry carried on? Who is ignorant of the causes which rendered that coalition necessary? Such was the number, yet such the strength of several conflicting parties, that no vigorous, steady administration could be formed on an exclusive bottom. It was felt that the speculative opinions of political leaders were necessarily suspended by the parts they were called upon to perform.—The only object was to beat the enemy, and he who could best contribute to that was the man for the time. An administration of able men was necessary to carry on the war against France. An administration was necessary which, combining all the great talents and connexions, could carry with it the whole people, and call forth their whole energy; an administration so strong in itself as to be

superior to all tricks and expedients, which could venture on bold measures, conscious that even their errors would be pardoned, because men reposed the most unbounded confidence in their vigour, their capacity, and their intentions. With such a ministry there was to be no petty balancing and dividing of parties—no sacrifices to undue influence, either in the choice of commanders or in the direction of measures. Different patching coalitions of underlings had been tried, but in vain; at last, however, (the late King, being the first patriotically to sacrifice his personal feeling to the public good,) a grand coalition was formed, comprehending all the leading interests, all the leading talents; and that coalition lasted till it was overthrown, not by the discord of its own elements, but by the malignant influence of favouritism, by an influence which for the last forty years has been steadily opposed to all men of ability and natural weight, and which has been uniformly exerted in the protection of underlings, drivellers, minions, and sycophants.——It is impossible to carry one's mind back to the fluctuating state of public councils, to the degraded state of the country, during the first period of the seven years' war, without thinking of the miserable state of the government of this country now; and yet, who would be so unjust to the memory of the dead, so faithless to the truth of history, as to compare the present drivellers with a ministry of which the powerful connexions and the sound judgment, diligence, and experience of the Duke of Newcastle, and the great abilities of Mr. Henry Fox, formed a part. Far less would any man compare the object, the nature, and the scale of the war in which we are now engaged against France, with a war carried on against the monarchy under a doating debauchee, governed by a profligate mistress. The novelty of the contest, indeed, is a matter of most serious consideration. England never before was engaged corps to corps with France as she is now, and this of itself, though it ought not to appal, ought to put us upon every effort to meet the untried danger. The Romans were cautious when they had to do with a new enemy. France, revolutionary France, aggrandized, republican France, is, indeed, a new enemy to England. But shall we not fight France single handed, which, by the way, France is too wise to do, for she has Holland, and would have more if she could get them. Yes, to be sure! But is fighting France single handed a thing to be laughed at like a Harlequin's jest in the holidays? If we must fight single handed, should we not call forth all our means, all our abilities, to equal the magnitude and novelty of the occasion?——Mr. Sheridan can tell Mr. Addington what sort of an enemy we have to contend with in Buonaparté. Let him read to ministers that brilliant and eloquent eulogy which he pronounced upon the First Consul of France, a few days after the victory of Marengo had consummated the ruin and degradation of Europe. They will there find, to sum up every thing in Mr. Sheridan's quotation from Cicero, that Buonaparté is a man who, *plures provincias confecit quam alii concupeverunt; cujus adolescentia ad scientiam rei militaris; non alienis præceptis, sed suis imperiis; non offenso melius belli, sed victoriis; non stipendiis, sed triumphis est erudita.* Buonaparté, indeed, at the head of all France, at the head of all which the event that inspired the panegyric have gained him, is a most formidable enemy. And who are those who oppose him? Mr. Addington, Mr. Bragge, Lord Hobart, with the rest of the present Cabinet! And in what camps or fields, in what commands or victories, or triumphs have they learnt to oppose so mighty a foe? Or rather, might we not say, under what gowns and wigs, behind what desks and counters have such men learnt to defend an empire? How, in such eventful circumstances, can such presume "to lay their hands upon the ark of "our magnificent and awful cause?" From such a responsibility, did not duty command wise men would shrink, if not with dismay, at least with sacred awe and discerning fear. Yet Mr. Addington, Mr. Bragge, and Lord Hobart, amidst so many wiser and abler, venture to stand forth as the leaders and rulers in a contest which involves the destinies of England and of the civilized world.——Whatever may have been the causes of this war, the consequences must be either to raise the British nation to an eminence great and glorious beyond example, or to decide our inferiority for ever.——Even were a ministry formed of underlings, without any leading connexions, without parliamentary interest independent of the Treasury Bench, yet possessed of much greater abilities than their friends will claim for them, they could not act with vigour and effect in the present circumstances. Men, like the present ministry, have every thing to fear. They dare not venture upon any bold and striking enterprizes, because they dare not take the risk of bad success. They are so feeble and precarious that any puff of bad fortune would blow them down. They dare

not take upon themselves the responsibility of measures. Hence they keep the country in the present pining state in which there is no hope. We wait the attack to be sure, but if the enemy will not come, how are we to gain the victory—how are we to gain the war? A defeat would be preferable to this languishing state, because defeat would rouse our faculties, and prove the necessity of exerting all our mental and physical resources. At present what have we to hope but from accident? We trust every thing to fortune, but do nothing to deserve her favour.——This, to wise and reflecting men, constitutes the greatest danger of our situation. *Fuit hoc quondam fuit proprium Populi Romani longe à domo bellare, et propugnaculis imperii Sociorum fortunas non* SUA TECTA DEFENDERE. Hannibal is indeed at our gates, but where is the Scipio to call him back to Carthage? This is the first war in which England was ever besieged so disgracefully. We have been often threatened with invasion, but the answer to the menace was to send our fleets and armies to gather laurels in every quarter of the globe—on the Continent of Europe, in Asia, Africa and America. In those days the messengers of victory crowded every avenue to the metropolis. But now we boast and bluster, because we are not subdued. The whole cry of a stupid, gaping rabble, at the head of which are the ministry, is, "Are they come! Are they coming!" Gracious God! and is this to fight France single-handed? Is this giving a great and glorious example to Europe? Is this the path of renown, of honour, or of safety?——Amidst a disgusting and senseless contest of ribbaldry and reproach with our enemies, it is in their power to render England the scorn and derision of Europe, unless England has a government with spirit and talent, to make France feel that it is dangerous to provoke the British nation. At present France has the whole plan and conduct of the war in her own hand. By no one act of war or negotiation does she encounter a serious opposition from the British government. While Mr. Addington governs England, there is no coalition on the Continent to be feared by Buonaparté. His undivided attention, his undivided means are given to our destruction. Mr. Addington is resolved to fight France single handed, but he seems determined never to strike a blow. Will Mr. Addington dare to undertake any thing great? No—he "*must consult the people!*" He must wait for the public opinion before he initiates a measure, either legislative or administrative; and the mixed government of England is to be converted into the feeblest and most inefficient of all democracies, without form or freedom of deliberation; without energy in the administration, and with a man at the head of its affairs, who boasts, that in every measure he waits to make the people of England, the dupes, the partners, and the apologists of his imbecility. If the people of England indeed, can submit in torpid indifference to all this, the brains are out, and there should be an end of them at once.——What is the remedy for this deplorable situation? the more deplorable, perhaps, that it is without any crisis, and may be, nay must be, without any till the moment of dissolution? We answer, bold, vigorous government, founded upon the union of all the talents fitted to serve the country, at this time of peril and difficulty. What! shall it be said that every measure of administration shall have the sanction of a Plebiscitum? unheard of, abominable in this constitution! What! shall the spirit of the people, and nothing but the people, not in their assemblies, tribes, or centimes, but the people in an indefinable mass, and in the first resort, supply counsel to Ministers, Parliaments, and Kings? Shall the responsibility of a minister be destroyed by this monstrous kind of democracy? * God forbid that we should undervalue the spirit and voice of the people, for whom all government exists. But let the opinion and the voice of the people be led to their true interests, by men in whom they confide; let the voice and opinion of the people, deter all bad men, and bad ministers, from doing, or advising, what is repugnant to their rights, their liberties, and their safety. But let not Mr. Addington make the dispersed mass of the people, the legislative and executive power in the first instance, to the overthrow of every thing in government that is rational in theory, and beneficial in practice.——We repeat then, however, that if we are not wise to prevent calamity by resorting to it, calamity will compel us to fly to a system of administration on a comprehensive basis. All the patching and turning of the underlings will not do. Even partial unions of men of greater reputation will not give that government, calculated to produce an undivided effort; that government, which conscious in its integrity and in its strength, will venture every thing for the safety of the state.

* It is not amiss to observe here, that these people, while they are thus courting the rabble, have the modesty to take to themselves exclusively, the appellation of "*the king's friends.*"—Editor.

LETTER V.

FROM A CONTINENTAL OBSERVER.

Hamburgh, Nov. 10, 1803.

SIR,—When you read my last letter, you may, perhaps, have supposed that some of the reflections which it contained, bore the marks of an influence foreign from that which I profess. In this, however, you would have been totally mistaken. I have no connexion, whatever, either direct or indirect, with those who are most interested in the subject which I have discussed. The situation of the affairs of Europe is, at this time, so particularly important, as to excite universal attention. Every country, and every individual has the right of being an observer, because all are interested in the great scene which is passing; and because the happiness of all depends, essentially, upon the decision of the present war. This right I have exercised in submitting to your consideration, my ideas upon some of the most important objects which are involved in the present state of Europe. They appear to me to be conformable both to reason and justice; but if you should think them different, I can produce no authority to add to their weight. I will, however, beg a little further indulgence, while I examine, whether it would be proper to make any declarations to the people of France, relative to the future state of the internal government of that kingdom, in case the restoration of monarchy should be attempted, upon the plan of Inquisitor? and, if it should be proper, what those declarations ought to be?——Relative to this subject there are four ways of proceeding:—1. To make no declaration at all: 2. To declare that every thing shall remain in its present state: 3. To declare that every thing shall be immediately restored, as nearly as possible, to its former state: and 4. To declare that certain of the revolutionary innovations shall remain, and that certain others shall be abolished.——1. As to the first of these modes, it appears to me to be absolutely unreasonable. If this revolution had been an ordinary one, or such as most of its historians have represented it; if the renunciation of the monarchy had not been enforced for at least ten years; if the alterations and the changes of every sort had not been universal; if the system now existing in France, did not materially affect the happiness of mankind, and even the foundation of all society; then, it might be wise and politic to make no stipulations whatever, but to leave every thing to be determined between the monarch and his people. But, under the present circumstances, every thing seems to require, that, if we really wish to prevail on the French to receive their king, some explanation should be given, generally, at least, of the principal consequences which will ensue from such a measure. If this be not done they may suspect that some snare is laid for them; and say, that, after what has happened to them, they cannot be too cautious in their engagements. But if, notwithstanding, the project should be successful, that state of uncertainty would render the first measures of the government infinitely more difficult; its progress would become wavering and precarious; and its intentions would be constantly misrepresented, and its acts constantly calumniated. In fact, it appears to me, when it is so difficult to gratify or even to conciliate so many opposite sentiments, to make no declaration or explanation on the subject, would be the most effectual means of rendering every one dissatisfied.——2. Although many of the existing institutions of France, and the general inclination of the people are favourable to the principles of royalty; it is, nevertheless, certain that the present state of France is very different, indeed, from that of a true and legitimate monarchy. The government seems to aim at the impracticable combination of all the freedom of a democratic republic, with all the vigour of an arbitrary dictatorship. This is the most effectual mode of keeping it constantly balancing between despotism and anarchy. The worst is, that not only every thing is changed, but that every thing is destroyed or subverted. A lawful monarch, if he were established in France, as she now is, would find himself, in the midst of such incongruity, entirely out of his sphere. Usurpation takes advantage of every thing; and tyranny controls every thing. It could not be thus with a king; who ought to reign without violence, and whose justice alone ought to be dreaded. I can readily imagine that it may seem easier to declare to the people of France, that all the effects of the resolution shall remain entire. This would be cutting the gordion knot, which ought, and indeed, which I think, the actual state of things absolutely requires should be untied. Can we forget that it is the revolution which we affect to combat: and shall we begin by abandoning to it all its usurpations? We wish to re-establish a monarchy which has been destroyed by the revolution; and shall we surround it with revolutionary elements? In announcing the reign of justice and moderation, shall we introduce it by sanctioning violence and

iniquity? Dare we require the French people, not only to return to the sway of their lawful sovereign, but to confirm every thing which oppresses and degrades them? Certainly not. That would only be placing Louis XVIII. at the head of the revolution, and would, if it were possible to be effected, contribute neither to the happiness of France nor the tranquility of Europe. If this be the course which is to be pursued, it would be better to abandon France to her fate, and to hold her purely and simply by the right of war. I am unacquainted with the intentions and dispositions of Louis XVIII. but, if I were in the situation of that prince, cruel and unfortunate as it is, I would never consent to such a negotiation; and if I were a Frenchman, I would never accept of terms so contradictory.——But, perhaps, it may be asked whether those who proscribed the monarchy were not rebels; and whether those who rule in its stead are not rebels: whether those whose consent must now be obtained for the restoration of the king are not rebels; and whether, in order to satisfy and conciliate them, it will not be necessary to pass an act of oblivion for all that has been done, and, thus, provide for the future at the expense of the past? This reasoning is fallacious; because it is not from those who now wield the sword of authority, that the reinstatement of the monarch is to be obtained. Those must be foolish, indeed, who suppose that that could be done, on any terms whatever. But the mass of the people of France, who have already suffered, and who still suffer under the sway of the revolution, were never so essentially revolutionary as has been supposed, and are, now, still less anti-monarchical in their principles than ever. How can it be supposed that the French, harassed and disgusted with the revolution, and longing for their lawful king, would, willingly, see him return and sanction the revolution? No: the great body of the people look for no such monstrous association; and they would justly think, that for such a purpose, it would be unnecessary to change. It is by no means certain, they would say, that the government, vicious and illegitimate as it is, may not fall into the hands of those who would be more moderate and less oppressive. All its phases may not be so noxious. The present government condemns the Directory with the same justice as the Directory condemned the reign of terror; and another government may, perhaps, now be approaching, which will, in turn, acquire the right of anathematizing the reign of the Consuls. Can we then be unmindful of those immemorable crowds of Frenchmen, whose persons and whose fortunes have suffered so grievously from the revolution, and who are still the victims of its tyranny? They, most assuredly, are not the faithful and zealous partisans of republicanism.——From these things, it is evident to me, that to assure the French people of the preservation of the fruits of the revolution, after the reinstatement of the king, would be unwise, impolitic, and unjust. ——3. The idea of making justice, that supreme attribute of kings, uncontroled and unlimited justice, the suite of a returning monarch, and of re-establishing with the throne, all that was destroyed with it, is noble and consolatory. It would be sound policy to sweep from the surface of France every thing which history wishes to obliterate from its records. Nothing could be better than, with one hand to repress the spirit, and, with the other, to destroy the effects of revolution. But these are delusive reveries. None but the Omnipotent exercises this complete justice; and, although he suffers men to conceive the idea, he reserves the power for himself. We ought not, always, to wish for that which we can obtain. *Summum jus, summa injuria.* Justice, if carried too far, would produce an overthrow, rather than a re-establishment; and we wish not to effect a counter-revolution, but a restoration.——I therefore, think it, not only wise, but necessary, and even indispensable, that this third course should be rejected. ——4. It would then seem most expedient to declare to the people of France, that the return of the king should be signalized by the destruction of certain effects of the revolution; but that others should exist after the restoration, some provisionally, and some permanently. The selection would certainly be difficult: however, I will state my ideas on the subject.——The present forms of government, at least in the executive departments, ought, I presume, to be preserved provisionally, as well as the army, and the taxes, which latter should, in the mean time, be levied with all possible gentleness.——Every thing relating to religion, or rather to religious worship, ought to be exclusively under the direction of the prince; and should, therefore, I think, be passed over in silence. It might be well, however, to guarantee toleration, the free exercise of their own modes of worship, and the royal protection to those Frenchmen who are not Catholics. ——I have already explained myself relative to the power of the king. On that

subject, I think nothing more need be said. The French rose in rebellion against their monarch: but they now return to their duty. The king has been proscribed by powerful factions; and royalty has been eclipsed. The French call back their king, and he returns —— I should think that every thing which the civil state of France, whether it relate to the clergy, or to the nobility, ought not to be mentioned.—— Trials by jury, in criminal cases, ought, I think, to be preserved. The laws both civil and criminal, might, provisionally, remain as they may be found; subject, however, to future revision.—Both the conscription and the requisition should be absolutely abolished, as manifest infringements of personal liberty; together with the odious right which revolutionary governments have assumed, of placing any part of the kingdom in a state of siege.——All other objects appear to me superfluous, except the question relative to confiscated property, called, by way of excellence, national property: this, I think, merits particular examination —Under this general head are comprehended three different sorts of property: 1, that of the prince, and of the princes of the blood royal, which I rank in the same class, inasmuch as, in default of nearer heirs, it reverts to the prince: 2, that of the clergy, the title of which is of a particular nature, and, notwithstanding the cavillings of the constituent assembly, not less valid: 3, that of the laity, usurped by various decrees, by the means of lists of emigration, and arbitrary imprisonments, decapitations, shootings, and drownings.——According to different modes of thinking, some of these spoliations may, perhaps, appear more criminal than others; but all are culpable from the absolute disregard of right and justice, with which they have been made. They are contrary to the spirit of natural and christian morality, and to every principle of sound policy, and tend to destroy those general notions respecting property, which constitute the pivot of civil society. Had the French revolution no other stain than this, she would be for ever polluted. Conscience, always inflexible, is constantly revolting against the silence which has been attempted to impose. The endeavours which have been, so frequently made, by the different governments which have succeeded each other, to confirm the new possessors in the quiet enjoyment of their acquisitions, originate in the same motives as the proposition made to Louis XVIII. for the renunciation of the throne. I even suspect that those who govern, have, themselves, found the disgrace so great and so public, that, when they had effected the revolution, they were strongly tempted, in order to establish it, to make some composition with some of the principal sufferers; with the hope that this partial act of justice would palliate it. But two things have prevented this. They thought to make confirmed and steadfast creatures of the new possessors by guaranteeing them in their acquisitions: and they stood greatly in need of creatures. Besides, the treacherous baits, with which they allured those emigrants whom adversity had wearied and harassed, were so successful as to bring back the greatest part; and these it was more easy to oppress and controul than to restore them what they were entitled to.——Every wise government is, generally, extremely cautious in confiscating property. When it is once begun it is difficult to act rightly. The great basis of society, once removed, is not easily re-established. It may happen, when a country is revolutionized, that the ruling party will seize the wealth of the other; but this is only a temporary possession, and, in such a case, the termination of the war would restore the *status quo ante bellum*. There are instances in which legitimate governments seize and confiscate the effects of certain disobedient or rebellious subjects, conformably to existing laws, and with the necessary formalities: but in such cases the crimes must be very great and incontestibly proved. Here, an illegitimate government, censured more than all others, by its successors, who were not less illegitimate, pretended to have the right of confiscating for ever the wealth of those who opposed the hand raised for the usurpation of the lawful government, and for the overthrow of the religion and laws of their country, for the confusion of society, for the perpetration of the most shocking crimes, and for the exercise of every species of oppression. Upon this iniquitous pretext they took and kept the property of all; and the clergy, who cannot have been accused of bearing arms, were more completely robbed of their property than the prince, or the laity themselves. All this is, assuredly, irreconcilable with reason, justice, humanity, religion, and even with policy; and, while it remains, thus will it ever continue. And, I defy the most cunning French advocate, ever to justify, excuse, or even palliate such extraordinary spoliations.——I cannot, however, suppose that England, where the laws of property are so well known and so highly respected, will ever be brought to sanction, among her neighbours, so dreadful an example of abominable violation. That appears to me to

be conformable, neither to its morality nor its honour, neither to its interest nor its policy. I cannot even think that such conduct would be regarded as a proper means of facilitating the success of the re-establishment of the Monarchy. In supposing that such acquiescence would gain the support of the possessors of that national property, (a thing which is by no means proved) in opposition to their number and importance, which some affect to consider as great, the discontent of an infinitely more numerous crowd, of those who are oppressed, but who are supported by the weight of morality and justice, and by the opinion of all mankind. The possessors will always have to contend for the preservation of that which was ill obtained; and no one will doubt the cause of their pretended patriotism, and of their former opposition to their Sovereign. Besides, it cannot be dissembled that the government which protects them now, for its own support, will, at least, preserve the privilege of bearing hardest upon them, and even of despoiling them when it may be more firmly established, or when it may be deprived of other resources; thus confirming to its own advantage the truth of the ancient maxim, that the property of the state is unalienable in its nature. They also know, that in such a case, general opinion would be decidedly against them.——I do not, however, pretend to decide, from thence, that again changing much of their property would be difficult and complicated. Fortunately, I do not think it would be necessary. On this subject, the best thing which can be done, is, in my opinion, to preserve the most perfect silence, a silence which cannot be broken without sanctioning iniquity, or producing an inextricable chaos; and to leave to the justice and wisdom of the Monarch the painful but necessary task of deciding and adjusting the causes of so many dissensions. I do not doubt that the prince, who must often have reflected upon this subject, will find out the true means of conciliating universal approbation without violating justice. This I think, may be done, and more cannot be necessary.——Shall I add, that besides the possessors of national property, there is still another numerous class of persons interested in the duration of the revolution, because they profit from it? The present government, it is said, sometimes pays with great liberality; but those who love its money, are not, therefore, its friends, and the rising sun will always have their homage.—I am, Sir, &c. &c. &c. *

* These letters were actually transmitted to me from Hamburgh, and in the French language.—Editor.

Report relative to the fiscal Affairs of the United States of America, laid before the House of Representatives, on the 25th of October, 1803, by the Secretary of the Treasury.

REPORTS AND ESTIMATES.

The annual nett proceeds of the duties on merchandize and tonnage had in former reports, been estimated at nine millions five hundred thousand dollars. That estimated revenue, predicated on the importations of the years immediately preceding the late European war, and on the ascertained ratio of increase of the population of the U. S. appears from the experience of the two last years, to have been under-rated. The nett revenue arising from that source, which accrued during the year 1802, exceeds ten millions one hundred thousand dollars. The revenue which has accrued during the two first quarters of the present year, appears from the best estimate that can now be formed, to have been only fifty thousand dollars less than that of the two corresponding quarters of the year 1802; and the receipts in the Treasury, on account of the same duties, during the year ending on the 30th of September last, have exceeded ten millions six hundred thousand dollars.—— Those facts afford satisfactory evidence that the wealth of the United States increases in a still greater ratio than their population, and induce a belief that this branch of the public revenue may now be safely calculated at ten millions of dollars. ——From the statement [A] it will appear that the same revenue for the two last years of the late European war (1800 and 1801) calculated at the present rate of duties, averaged 11,600,000 dollars a year; but although it might with some degree of probability be supposed that the renewal of hostilities will again produce a similar increase, no inference from that period is drawn in this report in relation to the revenue of the ensuing years.——The statement [B] shews the several species of merchandize on which the duties on importations were collected during the year 1802; the portion of that revenue which was derived from drawbacks, and that which arose from the extra-duty on merchandize imported in foreign vessels.——Although the sales of the public lands during the year ending on the 30th day of September last, were affected by the situation of the western country; two hundred thousand acres have been sold during that period; and, as it appears from the statement [C] that, in-

dependent of future sales, the sums already paid to the receivers, together with those which, exclusively of interest, fall due during the three ensuing years, amount to 1,250,000 dollars, the annual revenue arising from the proceeds of those sales, cannot be estimated at less than four hundred thousand dollars.——The extension of post-roads, and the acceleration of the mail, whilst diffusing and increasing the benefits of the constitution, have, as an object of revenue, rendered it less productive. The receipts from that source have amounted, during last year, to 27,000 dollars; but as neither these, nor those arising from some other smaller incidental branches, are of sufficient importance to affect any general result, the whole existing revenue of the United States will be computed at only ten millions four hundred thousand dollars.——The permanent annual expenses of government, which, under existing laws, must be defrayed out of that revenue, amount to nine millions eight hundred thousand dollars; to wit:

1. The annual appropriation of 7.300.000 dollars, for the payment of the principal and interest of the debt; of which about three millions and an half are at present applicable to the discharge of the principal, and the residue to the payment of interest,	Dollars, 7,300,000	
2. The current expenses of government which, according to the estimates for the year 1804, consists of the following items, viz.		
For the civil department and all domestic expenses of a civil nature,.....	791,000	
For expenses attending the intercourse with foreign nations, including the permanent appropriation for Algiers, and all other expenses relative to the Barbary powers.....	134,000	
For the military and Indian departments.....	875,000	
For the naval establishment, calculated on the supposition that two frigates and four smaller vessels shall be kept in commission.....	650,000	
		2,500,000
		9,800,000
And deducted from the permanent revenue of.....		10,400,000
Leave a surplus revenue of.....		600,000

Six hundred thousand dollars applicable to other objects.

The following extraordinary resources and demands not being of a permanent nature, are not included in that calculation, to wit:

	Dolls.
The specie in the Treasury, which, on the 30th day of September last, amounted to.....	5,860,000
The arrears of the direct tax, estimated at	250,000
The outstanding internal duties, amounting to near.....	400,000
And the sum which will be repaid to the United States, on account of advances heretofore made in England for the prosecution of claims; estimated at.....	150,000
Constituting an aggregate of	6,660,000

More than six millions, six hundred thousand dollars, which, after reserving the sum which it is necessary to keep in the Treasury, will be sufficient to discharge the demands due on account of the convention with Great-Britain, and amounting to ..... dollars 2,664,000

Sundry extraordinary expenses in relation to the conventions with France and Great-Britain, estimated at	100,000
The loan obtained from the state of Maryland, for the City of Washington, amounting to.....	200,000
And also to pay two millions.....	2,000,000
	4,964,000

of dollars on account of the purchase of Louisiana; being the same sum which was reserved for the purposes contemplated by the law of the last session, appropriating that amount for the extraordinary expenses attending the intercourse with foreign nations.——It appears by the estimate [D] that during the year ending on the 30th September last, the payments from the Treasury on account of the public debt, have amounted to .....dollars 3,096,700

Which, together with the increase of specie in the Treasury during the same period, amounting to.....	1,320,000
	4,416,700

makes an actual difference in favour of the United States of more than four hundred thousand dollars during that year.——The payments on account of the principal of the public debt, from the first day of April, 1801, to the 30th day of September, 1803, have amounted, as appears by the estimate [E] to dollars, 9,924,004

The specie in the Treasury, on April 1st, 1801, amounted to.....	1,794,000	
And on the 30th day of September, 1805, to.	5,860,000	
Making an increase of		4,066,000
Those two items constitute an aggregate of		13,990,004
From which deducting the extraordinary resource arising from the		

sales of the bank shares, which produced.....	1,287,600
Leaves for the amount of the true difference.....	12,702,404

in favour of the United States, for that period of two years and an half, a sum of twelve millions seven hundred thousand dollars.—— From that view of the present situation of the financial concerns of the United States, it seems that the only question which requires consideration is, whether any additional revenues are wanted in order to provide for the new debt, which, if Congress shall pass the laws necessary to carry the treaty with France into effect, will result from the purchase of Louisiana.——The sum which the United States may have to pay, by virtue of that treaty, amounts to fifteen millions of dollars, and consists of two items—1st, 11,250,000 dollars, payable to the government of France, or to its assignees, in a stock bearing an interest of 6 per cent. payable in Europe, and the principal of which will be discharged at the Treasury of the United States, in four instalments, the 1st of which shall commence in the year 1818—2dly, a sum which cannot exceed, but may fall short of 3,750,000 dollars, payable in specie, at the Treasury of the United States, during the course of the ensuing year, to American citizens having claim of certain description on the government of France.——It has already been stated that two millions of dollars may be paid from the specie now in the Treasury, on account of the last item; and the whole amount of the new debt which may be eventually created, cannot, therefore, exceed thirteen millions of dollars, the annual interest of which is equal to 780,000 dollars; but on account of commissions, and variation of exchange, will be estimated at eight hundred thousand dollars.——The existing surplus revenue of the United States will, as has been stated, be sufficient to discharge six hundred thousand dollars of that sum, and it is expected that the nett revenue collected at New Orleans will be equal to the remaining two hundred thousand dollars.——That opinion rests on the supposition that Congress shall place that port on the same footing as those of the United States; so that the same duties shall be collected there, on the importation of foreign merchandize as are now by law levied in the United States; and that no duties shall be collected either on the exportations of produce or merchandize from New Orleans to any other place; nor on any articles imported into the United States from the ceded territories, or into those territories from the United States.——The statements (F, G, H) exhibit the annual exports and imports of the United States to and from Florida and Louisiana, for the years 1799 to 1802; and the statement (G) particularly shows that the exportation from the Atlantic states to those colonies, of articles not of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the United States, amounted for the years 1799, 1800, and 1801, to 6,622,189 dollars; making an average of more than two millions two hundred thousand dollars of foreign articles, liable to pay duty, annually imported into Florida and Louisiana from the United States alone.—— It is ascertained that the exportations from the United States to Florida are so trifling that that statement may be considered as applying solely to New Orleans; and it is also known that almost the whole of those importations were consumed within that colony, and that during the war the supplies from the United States constituted by far the greater part of its imports.—— From thence it results that the annual importations into the ceded territory, of articles destined for the consumption of its own inhabitants, and which will, under the revenue laws of the United States, be liable to pay duty, may safely be estimated at two millions five hundred thousand dollars: an amount which, at the present rate of duties, will yield a revenue of about 350,000 dollars. From that revenue must be deducted 150,000 dollars, for the following items, viz.——1st. The amount of duties on a quantity of sugar and indigo equal to that which shall be imported from New Orleans into the United States; as those articles being imported free from duty, will diminish by so much the revenue now collected in the sea-ports of the United States. The whole amount of sugar exported from New Orleans is less than 4,000,000 of pounds, and that of indigo is stated at about 30,000 pounds. Supposing (which on account of that exemption, is not improbable) that the whole of those articles should hereafter be exported to the United States, the loss to the revenue will be about 100,000 dollars.——2d. No increase of expense in the military establishment of the United States is contemplated on account of the acquisition of territory; but the expenses of the civil administration of the province and those incident to the intercourse with the Indians, are estimated at 50,000 dollars; leaving for the nett revenue derived from the province, and applicable to payment of the interest of the new debt, 200,000 dollars, as above stated.——The only provisions which, if that view of the subject be correct, ap-

pear necessary, and are respectfully submitted, are,—1. In relation to the stock of 11,250,000 dollars to be created in favour of the government of France or of its assignees.—That that debt be made a charge on the sinking fund, directing the commissioners of the fund to apply so much of its proceeds as may be necessary for the payment of interest and reimbursement or redemption of the principal, in the same manner as by the existing laws they are directed to do in relation to the payment of interest and discharge of the principal of the debt now charged on that fund.——That so much of the duties on merchandize and tonnage as will be equal to seven hundred thousand dollars, being the sum wanted to pay the interest of that new stock, be added to the annual permanent appropriation for the sinking fund; making together with the existing appropriation, eight millions of dollars, annually applicable to the payment of the interest and principal of the public debt. ——And that the said annual sum of eight millions of dollars remain thus pledged, and be vested in the commissioners of the sinking fund in trust for the said payments, until the whole of the existing debt of the United States and of the new stock shall have been reimbursed or redeemed. —— As a sum equal to the interest accruing on the new stock will thus be added to the sinking fund, the operation of that fund, as it relates to the extinguishment of the existing debt, will remain precisely on the same footing as has been heretofore provided by Congress. The new debt will neither impede nor retard the payment of the principal of the old debt, and the fund will be sufficient, besides paying the interest on both, to discharge the principal of the old debt before the year 1818, and that of the new within one year and an half after that year.—— II. In relation to the American claims, the payment of which is assumed by the convention with France:——That a sum not exceeding 3,750,000 dollars inclusive of the two millions appropriated by a law of the last session of Congress for defraying the extraordinary expenses incident to the intercourse with foreign nations, be appropriated for the payment of those claims, to be paid out of any monies in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.——That for the purpose of effecting the whole of that payment, the President of the United States be authorised to borrow a sum not exceeding 1,750,000 dollars, at an interest not exceeding six per cent. a year. ——And that so much of the proceeds of the duties on merchandize and tonnage as may be necessary, be appropriated for the payment of the interest and for the reimbursement of the principal of the loan which may eventually be effected by virtue of the preceding provision.——It is not proposed to charge that loan on the sinking fund, because its amount, in case it shall be effected, cannot at present be ascertained; and because it may, perhaps, under the then existing circumstances of the Treasury, be found more expedient not to borrow the money, and, in lieu of it, to pay out of the sinking fund the whole or part of the two last instalments payable by virtue of the Convention with Great Britain, as authorised by the act making provision for the payment of the whole of the public debt.——It is evident that the possibility of thus providing for the payment of the interest of a new debt of thirteen millions of dollars, without either recurring to new taxes or interfering with the provisions heretofore made for the payment of the existing debt depends on the correctness of the estimate of the public revenue which has been submitted. Although it is not without diffidence that the hope of such favourable result is entertained, some reliance is placed on the solidity of the basis on which the estimate is grounded. It rests principally on the expectation that the revenue of the ensuing years shall not be less than that which accrued in the year 1802. No part of it depends on the probable increase which may result from the neutrality of the United States during the continuance of the war in Europe; nor even on the progressive augmentation, which, from past experience may naturally be expected to arise from the gradual increase of population and wealth. Nor has that effect been taken into consideration which the uninterrupted free navigation of the Mississippi, and the acquisition of New Orleans may have either on the sales of the public lands, or on the general resources of the inhabitants of the western states.

All which is respectively submitted,

ALBERT GALLATIN,
Sec. of the Treasury.

VOLUNTEER COMMITTEES.

The Committee of the corps of the United Parishes of St. Giles in the Fields and St. George, Bloomsbury, furnishes a tolerable good specimen of that confusion of ranks, against which so much just complaint has been made; as well as of the origin and powers of the committees of Volunteer Corps in general. For this reason I insert the very first resolves that this committee

made. Since the date of these, they have *collected money, chosen officers by ballot*, and performed all the other functions, except mere parade command, which ought to be performed by the Commanding Officer. The Commanding Officer of this corps is Sir John Nicholl, the King's Advocate. Whom the committee is composed of the reader will see.

At a General Meeting of the Inhabitants of the Parishes of St. Giles in the Fields and St. George, Bloomsbury, held July 25, 1803, at Freemason's Hall, in Great Queen Street, (pursuant to Public Notice).——

SIR ALEXANDER MUNRO *in the Chair:*

RESOLVED UNANIMOUSLY,—That the threatened invasion of this country having induced the legislature to adopt extraordinary measures of resistance, and the personal aid of every one capable of affording it being required for the National Defence, it is the bounden duty of every loyal subject to assist the government in carrying those measures into effect in the most speedy and convenient manner;——That to this end it is the opinion of this meeting, that the force which these parishes are capable of raising might be disciplined with more expedition by the inhabitants being formed into a military corps, upon the principle of a Volunteer Association, than by the provisions of any general law, as by their immediately setting about the training of themselves, great progress might be made towards rendering them fit for service before the forms observed under a general law could be put in practice;——That it is a common cause we are engaged in, which concerns all descriptions of people without distinction; but in order to preserve unanimity so heartily desirable in this crisis of our fate, as a free and independent nation, it is expedient that arrangements should be made for neighbours to be classed, so as to act together, which must be more agreeable to all ranks, and inspire the greatest energy and confidence; but such a regulation could only be accomplished by the formation of an association;——RESOLVED THEREFORE,—That an offer of service of the inhabitants of these united parishes, of every description (able to bear arms), as a military association, upon the foregoing principles, and free from emolument, be immediately made to government, and if accepted, that any of the inhabitants who have already been in a military association, or are otherwise competent, be requested to immediately commence the instruction of their neighbours in the military art, until more regular methods for that purpose can be adopted;——That, as many persons, not fit for personal service, may be desirous of taking a part in the honour of defending their country, by contributing to assist in the equipment of persons whose loyalty and zeal may be greater than their means, a subscription be opened for that and the other necessary purposes of the association;——That a committee, consisting of persons who will engage to serve in, or actively promote, the association (if formed), be immediately appointed to make a tender of service to government, and who shall have power to adopt measures for the general regulation of all matters relating to the association and the above subscription.——That the meetings of the Committee be open to the attendance of any member of the association; and that such Committee consist of the following persons, and that vacancies be filled up by the members of the association at a general meeting.

The Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor,—The Right Hon. Lord Ellenborough,—The Rev. Dr. Willis,—Thomas Everett, Esq. M. P.—George Shum, Esq. M. P.—Robert Williams, Esq. M. P.—H. C. Coombe, Esq. M. P.—Sir Alexander Munro,—James Langston, Esq.—Colonel Stapleton,—Richard Parkes, Esq—John Soane, Esq.—Richard Barker, Esq.—— ——— Manley, Esq.—Francis Gosling, Esq.—Thomas Leverton, Esq.—Craven Ord, Esq—John Sargeaunt, Esq.—John Page, Esq.—John Campbell, Esq.—Mr. James Norris,—Mr. Alexander Stewart.—Mr. John Wright,—Mr. William Hall,—Mr. Richard Ogle,—Mr. Augustus Fallon,—Mr. Charles Charlesworth,—Mr. William Frend,—Mr. Luke Hansard, and Mr. Thomas Baylis.

That books for subscriptions be open, until further notice, at the Vestry Rooms of these united parishes; at the bar of the Freemason's Tavern, Great Queen Street; Mr. Page's, No. 232, High Holborn; Mr. Hillhouse, Great Russel Street, Corner of Caroline Street; and Mr. Charlesworth's, No. 124, High Holborn; between the hours of ten and six.——That the inhabitants now present, who are willing to serve in the association, do forthwith sign an engagement to that effect, and that the rolls be afterwards left for signature at the Vestry Rooms of these parishes, and at the places appointed to receive subscriptions.—That the thanks of this meeting be given to Sir Alexander Monro, for his handsome acceptance of the chair, his ability therein, and professions of zeal to forward the purposes of the meeting.——That the like thanks be given to the gentlemen who convened the present meeting, and particularly to Mr. Wright, of Hyde Street, for the great assistance afforded by him in arranging the business of the meeting.——That

the like thanks be given to Messrs. Reilly and Harrison, and the proprietors of Freemason's Hall, for the very liberal manner with which they accommodated this meeting, with the gratuitous use of their hall, on the present occasion.——That these resolutions be signed by the chairman, and made as public as possible in these parishes, and be also advertised in the Morning Herald and Morning Advertiser.

ALEXANDER MONRO, Chairman.

At a meeting of the General Committee, August 20, 1803.—JOHN SARGEAUNT, *Esq. in the Chair,*

RESOLVED,—That there be a general muster of the Corps on Tuesday next, and that the sub-committee do make the necessary arrangements for that purpose, and the future meetings of the association.

JOHN SARGEAUNT, *Chairman.*

In pursuance of the above resolution, the sub-committee announce the following regulations.——That the muster be at six o'clock, military time, (being a quarter of an hour earlier than the time mentioned) and the roll be called at a quarter past six, and the absentees noticed.——That on this occasion, and in general for the future, until further orders, the corps fall in by companies, according to their residences, as pointed out below.——That at general musters, the first company be formed at the upper part of the centre gravel walk of the gardens facing to the North, and the other companies in succession in open column; but at ordinary drills, the column to form on the gravel immediately adjoining the back front of the Museum, facing to the East.—That each company, for the purposes of drilling be formed into two divisions, and those persons most perfect in discipline to be placed, from time to time, at the discretion of the instructors of the drill, in the first division.——That for the future the roll be called at every evening drill, in order to regular returns being made of the effective members, and that no person be considered as present who is not in the ranks, except members of the committee. ——That a general muster of the corps be had every Tuesday evening, until further notice.——The general committee having recommended that a drill dress be adopted, considering that it will much further the object of economy, by saving the wear of the regimentals whilst the use of arms is acquiring, the sub-committee have approved of such a dress, consisting of a white serge jacket, single-breasted, black cloth cuffs, and black stand-up collar, black straps on the shoulders, plain yellow metal buttons, and white Russia-duck musquito trowsers; the latter being made high to meet the dress jacket, may be worn at any time as a drill dress. This dress may be had of the committee for fifteen shillings, prime cost, on immediate application being made to them, in order to regulate their contract.

STATE OF THE FUND OF THE ST. GILES AND ST. GEORGE, BLOOMSBURY, VOLUNTEER ASSOCIATION, AS PUBLISHED BY THEIR COMMITTEE, ON THE 1ST OF NOV. AND REFERRED TO IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS ON THE 22D OF NOV. 1803.

Amount of Subscriptions, from the 25th of July to the 1st of Nov. 1803.....				3005	0 0
Expended.					
Clothing.....	1398	6	0		
Accoutrements	562	10	0		
Drill Serjeants, Advertisements, Drums, Music, &c. &c. &c..	609	4	0		
				2570	0 0
Further Expenditure necessary to complete the Establishment.					
Clothing for 300 Men and Drummers	1800	0	0		
Great Coats, 600	630	0	0		
Knapsacks, &c.....	1050	0	0		
Pickers, Brushers, Drivers, &c.....	165	0	0		
Accoutrements, 300..	450	0	0		
Grenadiers' Extras ..	200	0	0		
Light Infantry Ditto..	100	0	0		
Sentry Boxes	100	0	0		
Armoury and Magazine	250	0	0		
Orderly Room	150	0	0		
Printing, Stationary, &c.	100	0	0		
Pioneers	90	0	0		
Erecting Abutment for Ball-firing, &c.	150	0	0		
				5235	0 0
Current Expenses.					
Ammunition	600	0	0		
Armourers	600	0	0		
Drill Serjeants	600	0	0		
18 Drummers.....	400	0	0		
Secretary.....	—	–	–		
Casual Clothing	200	0	0		
Incidental Expenses..	600	0	0		
Clerks, Messenger, &c.	200	0	0		
				3200	0 0
Total Amount necessary				11005	0 0
Total Amount of Subscriptions				3005	0 0
Deficiency				8000	0 0

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